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Government
Publications

FINAL REPORT
(Volume II - Part I)

AUTHOR: T. Miljan

TITLE: Bilingualism in Finland

Div: VIII-B Report No. 19



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BILINGUALISM IN FINLAND

Comparative Studies. Data Book on Finland

Volume II

Part I

Internal Research Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Toivo Miljan

January 1967

Edited by J. Dibben



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COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Data Book on Finland (Volume II)

This volume is one of a series presenting the findings of the Commission's programme of research into the experiences of certain selected countries that are, like Canada, faced with problems of bilingualism and biculturalism.

To facilitate the work of the Commission, the material has been organized and paginated so as to correspond with the subject matter of the six study groups. Studies of interest to Groups A, B and C were included in volume one of the data book. The remaining material is presented as follows:

<u>For study group</u>	<u>Subject of Section</u>	<u>Pagination</u>
E	Arts, Letters and Mass Media	
	1. Arts, letters and language	E 1
	2. Mass Media	E201
F	Private Business and Voluntary Associations	
	1. Private business	F 1
	2. Voluntary associations	F101
	3. Political parties and voting behaviour	F201

Material that is not ready at the time of distribution will be published in the form of supplements as it becomes available.

Readers are reminded of the general section, paginated in a simple numerical series, that may be found in the first volume of this report. This section provides both an historical introduction, dealing with the linguistic, cultural and social development of Finland, and a more precise demographic and statistical profile.

Supervisor: Kenneth D. McKee

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T. Miljan
October 1966

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MAP I

Finnish and Closely Related Languages During the Middle
Ages at the Time of their Greatest Spread



I LANGUAGE and LITERATURE

1. The Languages in Perspective

From the very beginnings of historical time in Scandinavia,¹ the two national languages in Finland, Finnish and Swedish, have developed along widely separated lines, and these differences even reach back to prehistory. While the beginnings of historical times found the Swedes expanding their domain by conquest of the Finns, and while the linguistic cousins of the former -- the Norwegians and Danes -- still freely roamed the seas, the linguistic cousins of the Finns -- the Botjaks, the Veps and the Karelians -- were being conquered and assimilated by the Russians of Novgorod, and the Estonians and Livs by Germans and Danes.² In modern times only one linguistic cousin of Finnish, Estonian, has survived to the twentieth century despite repeated conquests and attempts at assimilation by both German and Russian and is again at present under siege by the latter. In contrast, the linguistic cousins of Swedish -- Norwegian, Danish and Icelandic -- have grown

1. "Historical" time (i.e. when written records begin) in Finland reaches back only about 700 years to the 12th and 13th centuries; for Sweden it stretches back about another 200 years to the 10th century.

2. See Map I.

unimpeded by foreign conquest and attempts at assimilation, throughout historic times. Only among themselves have they periodically attempted to conquer and rule each other, the latest attempt ending only in 1905 when Norway acquired its independence, from Sweden.

The broad result is that the three Scandinavian languages developed in close harmony and are today distinguished only by "provincial" characteristics jealously cultivated from the period of intensive European nationalism of the nineteenth century on.¹ The result on the Finnish side is the opposite: both survivors -- Finnish and Estonian -- developed along independent and mutually exclusive paths, and while the brief period of the interwar years saw the firm establishment of linguistic cooperation, today they are again separated -- by outside force. But the historic forces and factors of conquest, war and geography have also contributed in at least one other way, through population growth, to the development of language, with the result that whereas today Swedish enjoys the support of over seven million people within a unilingual economically and politically strong state, and has intimate relations with the two other Scandinavian languages, which are supported

1. Icelandic, because of its isolation, developed more independently and betrays characteristics comparable to Canadian French as compared to French.

by a total of eight million people in similarly unilingual, economically and politically stable states, while Finnish, on the other hand, can count on the support of slightly over four million people in a bilingual state economically, politically and culturally a buffer between the East and the West of Europe. Moreover the language stands alone, receiving no support from friendly and close relatives.

Having put in historical perspective the overall development of the two languages we can now turn to a closer scrutiny of the development of the two languages in Finland. Our discussion will be concerned mainly with the "literary" languages, for though each language may be divided into several sociological sub-languages -- such as the variations of the spoken language, the language of technology, the language of academic disciplines, and the language of literature, it is largely the latter that brings forth, fosters, forms and directs the development of a culturally distinctive language of an identifiable national character. The variants of the spoken language, differing as they do from village to village, are not able to sustain the formation of a language that can serve the varying purposes of all national life. Only a written language painstakingly carved from the spoken language can create words accepted across the language area and

capable of producing the unity and unified action that the formation of a nation and state requires. In the times where the growth of this type of language began in the Nordic countries, communications between different "national" language areas were very slow and difficult. The mode of life in general differed greatly from place to place and did not require instantaneous exchanges of information based on universally standardized concepts, as in the world of today, and language growth was largely restricted to the area of the spoken language. The growth of the literary language exhibited an inward-looking, self-searching character, and it developed in a highly individualistic manner, unlike the more recently developing literary languages of Africa and Asia which show the very great influence of the standardized concepts and words of the dominant world languages. The main developer of this literary language in Scandinavia and Finland was the literature of those days - the newspapers, theological and agricultural writings, journals and belles-lettres: the first written to inform, the next two to instruct and the last to entertain. This effective combination was able to promote the growth of the literary language far more effectively than are the audio-visual means of mass communication today.

The languages of technology and of the different disciplines of science developed long after the literary language and depended on their development largely on an extra-territorial linguistic outlook severely confined to the problem at hand. That their growth has been rapid and the languages closely related across national and cultural language borders is the result of both rapid (and even instantaneous) world-wide communications and the standardizing effect of the laws and concepts of science. Thus these sub-languages do not exhibit many individualistic traits as they move across cultural language borders, and since in any case they are grafted onto the latter, a discussion of their development does not reveal as effectively the growth of language as a carrier of culture as does an analysis of the history of the literary language.

2. The Finnish Language: First Creations

The written German language (Hochdeutsch) had its beginnings in the correspondence between Saxon chancelleries and in Luther's translation of the Bible. The written Swedish language had its beginning during the same century in the translation of the Bible, and in the promulgation of the unified Law code, both brought about with the assistance of the centralized power of the King's chancery.

The written English language has a much longer historical background but the beginnings of modern English are generally traced to about the same period as German and Swedish, to the translation of the Bible, the Unified Kingdom, the drama of Shakespeare and the poetry of Milton.

Written Finnish, on the other hand -- though the New Testament was translated during the sixteenth century -- had to wait for over three hundred years more before beginning its growth, and this because it was not widely used in the pulpit and not at all recognized in administration or in the schools. The main reason for this is that the Laws of the land remained solely in Swedish for two hundred years after the publication of the Finnish New Testament.¹ But the fact that written Finnish did not develop until the eighteenth century has not had an altogether unwelcome effect on the language. Whereas Swedish today, for example, is under the great pressure of international standardization (known in most European countries as "Americanization") with a consequent loss of language individuality and the similarly consequent enervation of the ability of the language to develop on an internal base, Finnish, on the other hand, because it

1. Had the Law of the land been published in Finnish then, the administration would have had to learn to write at least some Finnish and all schools -- which at this time were church-run and educated both the clergy and the administration -- would have had to add Finnish to their existing Latin and Swedish curricula.

escaped the strong latin influences of the middle ages, the insidious Germanization of the Hansa period and the early modern age, and the snobbish linguistic Frenchification of the Versailles period, has its roots today so strongly immersed in its own Folkkultur that it is seemingly immune to international standardization.¹

But of far greater value to the present than immunity to "Americanization" is the cultural heritage of prehistoric Finland that was preserved intact in oral folk poetry, entirely free of the changing and internationalizing fashions of written poetry. The surprisingly quick unification of Finnish is due in no small measure to the popularity of the early Finnish belles-lettres which were based wholly on the patriotic-heroic pre-historic folk poetry as preserved in pure cultural form.

The New Testament, then, was translated and published in Finnish in 1548, the whole Bible appeared a century later in 1642, and the Hymnbook followed the New Testament within a generation, being published in 1580. Thus between the middle of the sixteenth century and the middle of the following century a firm basis for the development of the

1. Estonian, the surviving close relative of Finnish, was far more affected by other languages, but particularly German, for the same reason that Swedish has left significant traces in Finnish.

written language was laid. These efforts of the Lutheran movement, designed as they were to bring the Word of God within the reach of every man's conscience in his own language, did not, however, act as a sufficient impetus to create a living written language because of the reason already named - the two-hundred year delay in the promulgation of the Law of the land in Finnish. That this delay occurred adds a curious footnote to the history of the language: the first translation of the Law was ready in 1548 (the same year that the New Testament was published), but it was never published apparently because it was not thought to be sufficiently precise.¹ The next translation was ready during the reign of Charles IX and received the approval of the King but its fate was the same as its predecessor. This time the reasons for non-publication were apparently the King's long absences and the disruptive conditions of war. The next attempt at translation during the 1640s actually brought forth two translations, one of which was pronounced so good that the monarch, Queen Kristina, was ready to promulgate it as fully equal in law to the Swedish original. The final linguistic review, however, undertaken by the Åbo Court of Appeals, dragged

1. The translation was by a priest who was not fully conversant with legal terminology.

out well into the next reign and when finally finished it was found that a complete revision of the Law was due shortly and that consequently it would be useless to publish the existing Law. A Finnish translation of the Law, that of 1754, was finally published in 1759 - twenty-five years after its original Swedish promulgation.

It thus took over two hundred years from the date when the first translation of the Law into Finnish was made for it to be promulgated as legally authoritative in Finland. By this time, however, Swedification in the administrative, political, economic and ecclesiastical life of Finland had proceeded so far that the promulgation of the Finnish version of the Law made little impact - for everyone concerned with written work used Swedish as a matter of course. Finnish was of course not absent from the "cultural", i.e., administrative and ecclesiastical, life of Finland, but it was merely the spoken language - and it was used solely in communicating with the "uncultured" Finnish masses. In legal matters, for example, while the lawyers and the Court argued briefs in written Swedish, spoken Finnish was used to hear testimony from unilingual Finnish witnesses; similarly in administrative matters, while written Swedish was used in all communications - internal and external - and in decision-making, Finnish

was used only in oral communications with the unlettered Finns. In church matters a similar preference for Swedish was shown, and since no great stress was laid on learning the Finnish language in school the clergy naturally wrote in the language that they knew best -- Swedish, Latin or Greek -- and relegated Finnish to the position of an oral pastoral language, used mainly in sermons and in pastoral work.

Despite the generally bleak linguistic picture that the centuries preceding the second quarter of the nineteenth presented, there were nevertheless several developments that paid belated but handsome dividends in the long run and served as an incubator in the creation of the written language. One of these was the publication of the first Finnish dictionary. This appeared as a Latin-Swedish-German-Finnish comparative dictionary and was published in 1637 by a Swede, Erik Schroderus. Another was the periodic appearance of Finnish grammars, with the first in 1649 and followed by another in 1689 and by the best to date in 1733. The most important of these developments, however, was the establishment at Turku of the first university in Finland, by Governor-General Per Brahe the Younger, in 1640. And his reason for this is equally important -- namely he wanted to ensure that a sufficient supply of educated

leadership in the administration, the church and the schools, drawn from the indigenous population, would be forthcoming. In this the later history of the institution did not completely bear out his wishes. However, the university did become the first institution in Finland to foster actively the Finnish language, in 1767, when Karl Gustaf Weman was named as Docent in Finnish. Among his contemporaries was Henrik Gabriel Perthan, the holder of the first chair in Finnish history. It was the latter's fiery interest and pride in the cultural history of the Finns that struck the spark that ignited Arwidson and his group of students to fiery nationalism in the 1820s. This "cultural nationalism" brought forth Lönnrot and the Kalevala in 1835 and in a remarkably short half century succeeded in both creating and firmly establishing a culturally acceptable language as the national language of the majority of the inhabitants of Finland.¹

3. Finnish Literature: The Creator and Guardian of Language

Although other media, such as the newspapers, and various influences, such as romantic nationalism, patriotism and

1. See also Part I of this study, chapter on History, Section II.3, "Language Developments to 1808-09"

politics,¹ contributed to the beginnings and sustained the development of written Finnish as a literary language, there is no doubt that belles-lettres - the centre and pith of all literary languages - provided the main force behind its own development. In addition, in Sweden, the King's administration and law courts supplemented the Bible and the clergy in developing a written language, long before belles-lettres appeared as the carrier of the literary language. The result in Swedish is that even today a significant grammatical distinction remains between Skriftspråk (Written Language) and Talspråk (Spoken Language).

In Finland, on the other hand, the non-existence of any accepted traditions and developments in the written language forced the creators to make their own rules and permitted them the widest scope possible in this endeavour. That they would choose the spoken language as their raw material was of course inevitable, but it was surely not inevitable that the new literati should all come from a tightly knit group formed for the avowed purpose of creating a "cultural" language out of spoken Finnish. Neither was it inevitable that they should use the heroic folk tales of

1. See ibid., Section III.2, "The Finnish National Movement: The Fennomen".

the spoken language as their main vehicle, nor that the development of this language should be one of the main weapons in the battle for political and economic progress. However, so it turned out. It was belles-lettres that formed the impetus for political activity, both through pamphleteering, newspaper polemics and active participation in organization of the same small group of creators of the written language. All this, furthermore, took place not only without the help of the administration, the courts, the church or even the university but in direct opposition to the wishes of these august and established foci of leadership.

The overwhelming and relatively quick acceptance of the written language in Finland is no doubt due to all the above mentioned factors, but it was mainly because the belles-lettres -- Kalevala and Runeberg's Tales of Eastern Stå1 -- were drawn from the heroic and familiar folk poetry, because they touched deeply the lives, and for the first time made the unlettered masses aware of pride in their own past, because they contained a romantic nationalism, and because political nationalism and liberalism were on the move in Europe, that the written language received such quick and uncritical acclaim among the population at large. Of course, the fact that the creators all belonged to the

same small and tightly-knit group -- the Saturday Society and the Finnish Literature Society -- helped them to establish quickly a uniform grammar and syntax. And undoubtedly the evangelical nationalist zeal in their work, the politicization of the masses of Finland and the involvement of language with politics hastened the acceptance, establishment and growth of the literary language.¹

Because of the speed with which the literary language developed, it is meaningless to attempt to distinguish schools of literature or periods of development; instead of differences in approach one tends to note the overbearing uniformity of direction, from the beginning almost to the present. Hence perhaps the best way to fill in the framework of development provided in the first part of this section is to mention briefly some of the main actors and their contributions, in chronological order as far as possible.

The year 1810 saw the appearance of Jakob Juten, later Finnicized to Jaakko Juteni (1781-1855), the first Finnish writer to devote himself to poetry. Although his poetry was dry and of a pedagogical nature and though he has been

1. For a more detailed historical overview of nationalism and political developments as factors in the growth of Finnish language usage, see chapter on History, Section III.2.

largely forgotten today, he nevertheless became the only writer to be widely read in Finland in the early days before Lönnrot and Runeberg. He was followed in 1832 by J.L. Runeberg with his Algskytterne (Elk Hunters), which though written in Swedish, was completely Finnish-Kalevalan in character and helped interest many Swedish-speakers in the masses and the language of the Finns. The same year saw the appearance of a truly Finnish poet, Samuel Gustaf Bergh, later Kallio (1803-1852), whose output though of high quality was unfortunately limited in amount.

The same period also saw the beginnings of a flourishing translation literature: the Homeric epics were translated by Erik Alexander Ingman; Johan Frederik Lagerwall translated Shakespeare's Macbeth, and so on. The important fact for the development of the Finnish literary language in these translations is that all were recast into the Finnish Kalevala-metre.

Prose was somewhat behind poetry and the first Finnish novel, Nils Aejmelaeus' Haaksirikko (Shipwreck), was not published until 1838. It was preceded by a translation of J.H.D. Zschokke's novel Das Goldmacherdorf in 1834. That was about all the prose that existed, with the significant exception of the numerous newspapers and journals,¹ until

1. See chapter on Newspapers in the study.

Aleksis Kivi (1734-72) in 1864 wrote Kullervo and with that and a list of subsequent novels and dramas authoritatively set the tone of prose literature to the present day.

Though Kivi's work forms the foundation of Finnish prose it was by no means a departure from the general line of lyric literature published to date. Indeed it was to a very large extent merely an outgrowth of the Finnish poetic form established firmly by Elias Lönnrot's Kalevala in 1835 and even more so by the revised edition in 1849.

The heroic-patriotic tone of Kalevala continued throughout the rest of the nineteenth century to cast a long shadow over all literary activity, including grammatical studies, folk cultural and ethnic and historic studies as well as poetry, the novel and drama.¹ In the present century the novelists Ilmari Kihti, Joel Lehtonen and F.E. Sillanpää, for example, still carry on this tradition when in their attempts to come to grips with the soul of the common man they confine themselves exclusively to the inhabitants of rural Finland, whose link with the heroic past seems close indeed -- in contrast to the city Finn who has become merely yet another cog in the internationalized,

1. One of the factors influencing this development was undoubtedly the long "nationalist-cultural" struggle for recognition of the Finnish language.

industrial-urban world complex. Even Väinö Linna (1920-), one of Finland's best known novelists throughout the world -- mostly through his war novel The Unknown Soldier (1954) -- appeals to both the Finnish and the world audience mainly because the mainstay of his novels is the heroic Kalevalan struggle of the rural against the industrialized, the romantic and "good" against the colossus of power. A more recent novel, the three-volume epic, Täällä Pohjontähden Alla (Underneath the North Star; 1959-1962), describing the life of a Finnish crofter family, returns even closer to the soil and romanticizes the past as a sweet and heroic age about to be engulfed by progress.

Another internationally known Finnish novelist, Mika Waltari, does virtually the same, except that much of his output is in the foreign setting. Nevertheless, the heroic and romantic past of man alone unaided by science serves as the popular form of his works: The Egyptian, The Adventurer, The Wanderer, The Etruscan, all offer the same fare in an international setting of ancient Egypt, of the pirate-infested Mediterranean, of ancient pre-civilized Rome, that Kalevala offers in the domestic setting.

Similarly, modern poetry, though at times attempting to follow the trends of the rest of Europe and America, nevertheless has not managed to break away from Kalevala. The most revered poet in Finland today, for example, is Eino Leino (1878-1926) whose 30 collections of poetry, all of the Kalevalan stamp, still form the mainstay of lyric consumption.

4. Swedo-Finn Literature

In any discussion of comparative Finnish and Swedo-Finn literature two facts stand out clearly: first, it was the Swedish-speaking upper class that gave the Finnish language and literature its first giants and creators; second, the subsequent developments of the two literatures in Finland diverged greatly. For example, the original members of the Saturday Club and the Finnish Literature Society were all Swedish-speaking and had to overcome great difficulties to learn and to master Finnish: not only Runeberg, the first national poet, but even Snellman, the father of Finnish nationalism, always wrote in Swedish. And though Runeberg wrote the national anthem (in Swedish) and in effect set the mood of literature to be taken up by Kalevala in his Elk Hunters and Tales of Ensign Stål, very soon the cosmopolitanism and intellectualism of the Swedo-Finn writers turned Swedo-Finn literature into an

upper-class bourgeois, intellectualist literature. The difference between the Finnish literature, which is grounded on a rurally based proletarian mythology, and the Swedo-Finn literature, has persisted to the present day. The explanation for these different developments is simple: whereas the Finnish audience in the early days consisted of intellectual nationalists and the common people awakened to a national consciousness, the Swedish audience consisted exclusively of a highly educated upper bourgeoisie. The demands were thus entirely different. With the coming of the twentieth century and economic and political progress, the paths of development still continued to differ: whereas the Swedo-Finn rate of urbanization and education increased rapidly,¹ the Finns still remained a largely rural population. As well, the common Swedo-Finn completely escaped the long period of nationalist struggles that the Finnish common people passed through in the second half of the past century. By the time that nationalism reached him during the first decades of the present century, his urbanization and educational progress was well in hand. Hence, whereas the traditional literature of the Finns was of the Kalevalan type, that of the Swedo-Finns needed but little adjustment to make it acceptable to the wider Swedo-Finn community.

1. See chapter on Education in this study.

A factor not present in Finnish literature was the closeness of Sweden, and as communications between the two countries intensified with the advance of science and technology, so did the exchange of literature. That this was and continues to be mostly a one-way flow, from Sweden to Finland, added to the development of a cosmopolitan internal Swedo-Finn literature. Still it is surprising that the small minority of Swedo-Finns has managed at all to retain an indigenous literature, in the face of the might and mass of the Swedish avalanche, which, particularly since the war put a premium on paper in Finland, has grown to alarming size. The answer to survival in this case appears to lie in the relative strength of the Swedo-Finn publishing houses,¹ and the quality of the literature which is not only translated into Finnish but is also read in the original by Finns and which finds a ready, though limited, market in Sweden. In the latter case it supplements the demand for bourgeois literature in Sweden whose own literature is still a mixture of rural-proletarian and bourgeois-intellectualist.

The modern period of Swedo-Finn literature -- after the early Runeberg-Topelius romantic epoch -- begins with Karl August Tavastjerna (1860-1898) and his contemporaries.

1. Of which there are only two major ones.

Tavastjerna made his debut in 1883 with a collection of poetry that both reflected the pan-Finlandic heroicism of his illustrious predecessors, and added a new goal to literature, expressed in livet-friheten-världen (life - freedom - the world), and thus lifted Swedo-Finn poetry to an intellectual and cosmopolitan plane. In 1886 he brought the realism of the then fashionable Parisian "monde" into Swedo-Finn prose in his Barndomsvänner (Childhood Friends), where the richness and freedom of the international life is contrasted sharply with the monotonous poverty and backwardness of the childhood home and homeland. His attacks on the Kalevalan greatness of Finland do not end here, though, for he goes on in Kvinnoregemente (Women's Regiments) to draw sharp and pejorative contrasts between the educated classes and their opposites - folket (the people). Tavastjerna's contemporaries such as Jac Ahrenberg (1874-1914), Anders Allardt (1855-1942) and others, operated on the same plane of "romantic-realism".

An advance in the further cosmopolitanization of Swedo-Finn literature was made by Mikael Lybeck (1864-1915) who in 1900 in Den Starkare (The Stronger) leaves naturalism almost entirely and steps into symbolism by describing the psychological conflicts between normal love and religious negation of normal life and love. His further works, Tomas

Indal (1911) and Breven till Cecilia (Letters to Cecile, 1920) continue this psychological symbolism and have an important effect on subsequent novelists.

But the turn of the century saw also the beginnings of a Swedo-Finn lyric romanticism. Arvid Mörne (1876-1946) published his first work Rytm och Rim (Rhythm and Rhyme) in 1899 where the following line expresses his sentiments: "Din lyras ton är ett sus i skogen / the sound of your lyre is a sigh of the forest." But Mörne does not confine himself to the romanticism of the life of the forests and islands of Swedo-Finland, he involves himself deeply in the socialist struggle of the day and thus takes up the intellectual symbolism of Lybeck. However, although his socialism brings but disillusion, his intellectualism remains and his later works (from 1919 to 1940) show a deepening insight into the psychological conflicts of man.

Many others, such as Hjalmar Procope (1868-1927) and Bertel Gripenberg (1878-1947), carried the trends set by Lybeck and Mörne, each in his individual way, but each within the psychological-symbolic school. The school also grew different shoots, such as Edith Södergran (1892-1923) who in her poetry brought the contemporary expressionist developments of Europe to Finland. She was followed by

Hagar Olsson (1893-) and Elmer Diktonious (1896-), and expressionism was carried to its most esoteric, approaching Kerouac and Mailer in word concoction, by Gunnar Björling (1887-). His poetry does not express itself through words and rhythm but rather through inarticulate emotions put on paper in a scarcely comprehensible wordage.

A stream of literature that has undoubtedly popularized Swedo-Finn efforts is that of Adagdrivarliteraturen or light literature.¹ It has its beginnings in the period of national struggles soon after 1910 and provided a pleasant escape from grim realities. This literature, expressed in both the novel and poetic forms, deals with all conceivable social conditions -- politics, love, Swedo-Finn nationalism, student life -- and treads a nimble line of sarcasm, desecration of sacred cows, fact and hilarity and in general manages to make the most serious problems delightfully unimportant. Among the practitioners of the art are Richard Malmberg (through the pseudonym Gustav Alm; 1877-1944), Ture Jansson (1866-1954), Runar Schildt (1888-1925), and Torsten Helsinguis (1888-).

1. In popular parlance "loafers' literature".



All of the above schools have their followers in the presently active authors: Mirjam Tuominen (1913-), for example, represents psychological symbolism; Göram Stenius (1909-) represents the romanticism of Runeberg - Topelius; and Sally Salminen (1906-) represents a Swedo-Finn provincial romanticism. Authors who have appeared since the war have used both the lyric and the novel forms, but by and large they seem to be caught up in a mélange of psychological symbolism and light literature. Some names in this group are: Ole Torvalds, Ulla Olin, Disa Lindholm Thomas Warburton, Lars Hjalmarson, Kurt Paetan, Jörn Donner, Christer Kihlman, and Kurt Sanmark. In the field of drama there is at present only V.V. Järner. In general this field lags far behind others.

So far nothing has been said about the development of the Swedish language in Finland, for the good reason that the Swedo-Finns have added nothing to its development. The language was already fully developed by the time Runeberg made his debut and in the subsequent period the Swedo-Finns have faithfully followed Swedish practice. Of course certain provincialisms in expression persist and a number of Finnish words have been Swedified roughly along the example of the Canadian French l'wheel and patates but these are mainly in oral usage and only occasionally find

their way into literature. No other differences exist between the written Swedish of Sweden and Finland. The major difference in oral speech - apart from provincialism, which also exists in Sweden - is the Finicized pronunciation of Swedo-Finns, which lends an unnatural flatness to their speech. However, the pronunciation is easily understood by those used to the "correct" speech of Stockholm, and does not create the difficulty caused by the dialect of Skåne in southern Sweden. Whereas the latter is almost Danish, the former is merely a flattening of pronunciation.

5. Contemporary Efforts: Comparisons

A comparison of books published in selected years between 1938 and 1962 (Table I) shows a total increase of roughly a quarter between 1938 and 1945. This increase is made up of an increase of over 26% in Finnish language literature and 12.3% in Swedish language literature. The decrease in literature published in other languages, though over 43%, is of little significance in the totals since their numbers were very small (80 in 1938 and 45 in 1945). The development in publishing totals over the next eighteen years (1945-1962) is very uneven, with a small decrease recorded in 1950, a small increase in 1955, a 10% increase in 1960 and a small decrease in 1962. In the Finnish

language column the picture is clearer with steady though small increases being shown in all selected years from 1938 to 1960. The 10% decline in 1962 still leaves the total slightly above the high of 1955 and only 200 below the all-time high of 1960. In the Swedish language column the picture is much more disheartening, with a steady though small decline shown for each selected year except for 1945 and 1950 when small gains were recorded, which, however, were completely wiped out by 1960. Whereas Finnish publication increased by over 600 books between 1938 and 1962, or by about 50% of the 1938 figure, the same period saw a Swedish decline between the first and last selected year of over 18%. What is even more disheartening for Swedish publication is that over the period in question publishing in other languages (mainly English) increased from 80 to 276 -- almost a 300% gain -- and by 1960 was slightly larger than publication in Swedish. Expressing Swedish publication as a percentage of total publication we see a steady and drastic decline between 1938 and 1962: in 1938 the former formed 17% of total publication, in 1945 15%, in 1950 13%, in 1955 12%, in 1960 9% and in 1962 also 9%.¹ Note, however, that the Swedish-language share in publication in 1962 is still slightly above the share that the Swedish-speaking population had in the total population in 1962 (7.4%).

1. The percentages are appromixations rounded to nearest percentage point.

Looking at the column of books written by Finnish-born writers in Finland we note similar fluctuations as in the total books published column. Here, however, the picture is not as disheartening, particularly in the field of fiction: in 1938 the Swedo-Finn authors published 20% of the total fiction produced in Finland, in 1945 18%, in 1950 13%, in 1955 17%, in 1960 13% and in 1962 12%.¹ Hence, even in 1962, Swedish fiction, though having declined by eight percentage points since 1938, still had a 12% share in fiction publishing, significantly above the percentage share that the Swedish population had of total population in Finland (7.4%). Indeed it appears that the totals of books published in Finland show such a heavy decline for Swedish language books exclusively because the total numbers of translations into Finnish has more than doubled, whereas translations into Swedish increased only by 50%, and that on a minuscule base (1938--28; 1962--42).

In the case of non-fiction, indigenous writing Swedish also appears to do much better than the total publication figures would indicate: in 1938 the Swedo-Finn writers' share of the total Swedish-Finnish publication figure was

1. Percentages are rounded to nearest percentage point.

18%, in 1945 16%, in 1950 15%, in 1955 13%, in 1960 11% and in 1962 12%.¹ Thus it would appear that original publication in Swedish in Finland is still flourishing, that the decline in absolute numbers over the period under discussion is not large, and that the proportional decline is due mainly to an increase in Finnish publication. What is most heartening is that Swedo-Finn writers and publishers are still publishing proportionately more works of fiction than of any other type (see Table II). Table II also shows that the majority of publication in foreign languages in Finland is in the sciences and technology, with mathematics, the natural sciences, and medicine taking the lion's share. But it must also be pointed out that neither Tables I nor II show the full vigour of indigenous publication in these fields for it has become fashionable for scientific theses and writings to be published in the original in English since the end of the war, and neither Table makes a distinction as to the mother-tongue of the author.

In so far as non-fiction is concerned -- a sector which in Finland, according to Table II, is confined almost exclusively to various academic disciplines and thus to a very limited readership -- Finns, whether Finnish- or Swedish-speaking by mother tongue, would rather publish in a foreign language than in their own. This of course

1. Percentages rounded to nearest percentage point.

means also that many Swedo-Finns prefer to publish in Finnish, rather than Swedish, if their main intent is to reach a readership in Finland, rather than in the Scandinavian countries. Most Swedo-Finn writers (of non-fiction) are in any case sufficiently at home with Finnish to write it freely. In contrast Finnish-speakers of the same calibre often have difficulty in writing an acceptable Swedish.

TABLE I

Books Published in Finland, 1938-1962, selected years

Ia.

Year	Written by Finns			
	In Finnish		In Swedish	
	Non Fiction	Fiction	Non Fiction	Fiction
1938	882	176	198	43
1945	892	467	176	99
1950	1056	308	187	45
1955	1221	241	179	48
1960	1376	311	152	45
1962	1001	276	139	37

Ib

Year	Translations				Into Swedish
	Into Finnish				
	From Scandinavian	From English	From other Languages	Totals	
1938	57	121	50	228	28
1945	123	120	105	348	43
1950	83	142	54	279	16
1955	98	203	115	416	38
1960	119	292	171	582	17
1962	108	298	155	561	42

Ic

Year	Totals of Books Published			
	In Finnish	In Swedish	In other Languages	Totals
1938	1206	269	80	1555
1945	1662	318	45	2025
1950	1496	248	147	1891
1955	1735	265	143	2143
1960	2037	224	232	2493
1962	1838	218	226	2282

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963
Table 343.

TABLE II

Books Published in Finland, by Types and Language in 1962

Type of Literature	Finnish	Swedish	Other Languages
General Works, collections	20	3	7
Philosophy	23	2	1
Theology	180	17	-
Social Sciences, Law	152	21	5
Pedagogy	44	7	1
Ethnography	3	-	1
Philology	113	23	42
Mathematics, Natural Sciences	96	8	54
Medicine	43	7	74
Engineering Sciences, Technology	99	5	4
Agriculture	95	6	9
Commerce and Transport	97	23	5
Fine Arts	24	3	6
Physical Culture	19	6	-
Literary History	20	4	2
Fiction	536	49	1
Juvenile Literature	129	4	-
Geography	54	6	10
History	91	24	4
	1838	218	226

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963.
Table 344.

Public libraries

Since no analysis of the state of literature in a country would be complete without at least a quick review of readership we shall briefly examine the public libraries in the rural communes¹ as shown in Table III. In 1962 there were 3,902 public library branches across the countryside. Of these, 546 or 14% were Swedish-language branches.² In the same year, volumes on deposit in these libraries totalled 3,378,000 of which 374,000 or 11% were held by Swedish libraries. Circulation in 1962 reached a total of 5,522,000 of which 501,000 or 9% were lent by the Swedish-language branches to a total of 344,000 borrowers of whom 30,000 or 9% borrowed from the Swedish branches.

A major reorganization and consolidation of rural libraries took place in the following year with the result that instead of a total of 489 rural central libraries in 1962, in 1964 there were only 483. By the latter date the branches also had been reduced, from a total of 3,413 in 1962 to 2,471. For the Swedish-language libraries this

1. Rural communal public libraries only are considered because a Swedish-Finnish breakdown is not available for Town and City libraries. Most of these are mixed Swedish-Finnish in their holdings in any case, so that a breakdown by language type of library would not be meaningful.

2. See note 3, Table III.

meant a reduction of eight central libraries and 345 branches, giving a total of 67 main libraries and 126 branches, a total of 193 libraries as compared to 546 two years previously. In terms of percentages the Swedish libraries' proportion has then been reduced to 6.4%, a figure corresponding more closely with the share that the Swedo-Finns form of the total population. In terms of total volumes held by the Swedish-language libraries, the reduction was less drastic, their share of holdings being reduced only to 9.3%. The decline in circulation was even smaller, decreasing from 9% in 1962 to 8.3% in 1964, although the decline in borrowers was more marked, declining from 9% in 1962 to 7.4% in 1964.

These figures and percentages indicate then that although the Swedish rural population was better served by "Swedish" libraries than their share in the population warranted up until 1962, the subsequent reorganization has not drastically reduced Swedish language library services (although the proportion of "Swedish" libraries was more than halved). In particular the Swedo-Finn share in the total of books held by all libraries is still well ahead of their share in the population. The discrepancy of decline in borrowers over total circulation points to increased library use by the remaining borrowers. Furthermore, these figures and percentages do not take into account Swedish rural borrowers at mixed Finnish libraries.

Public libraries in Finland are financed by a mixture of direct state grants, municipal subsidies and private gifts and donations. State grants up to and including 1963 used to make up approximately 2% of total library expenditures for all categories of public libraries. The grants were heavily weighted in favour of rural libraries, to whose expenditures they contributed between 20 and 25 per cent, whereas town and city libraries received around 2% of their finances from state grants. Following the reorganization, state grants were increased almost ten fold, reaching 8,349,000 Fmk in 1965 (compared to 891,300 Fmk in 1963 and 891,700 Fmk in 1961). Proportionally this total sum was divided so as to cover between 60 and 65% of rural libraries' expenditures and over 25% of town and city libraries expenditures, making up in total almost 40% of the expenditures of all public municipal libraries in the country.¹

As Table IIIA shows the proportion of state grant to expenditure does not vary much for either year given as between Swedish and Finnish rural communities. In any case it is meaningless to compare the precise proportions

1. See Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 342 and ibid., 1965, Table 340.

since most Swedish rural libraries are located in the well-off southern area, whereas many Finnish ones are located in the less economically developed northern and inland districts, and state grants to libraries are calculated on the need of the community and the relative ability of the commune to support library activities financially.

The noteworthy fact that emerges from Table IIIA is that the increase in state grants has enabled libraries to increase their expenditure on books. Between 1961 and 1964 this expenditure nearly tripled for "Finnish" rural branches and more than doubled for "Swedish" branches, while a doubling of expenditures on salaries has used up the rest of the increase.

TABLE III

Public¹ Libraries in Rural Communes:² 1962 and 1964.

	Central Libraries		Branches		Total		In 1000's					
							Total Volumes		No. Borrowed		No. Borrowers	
	1962	1964	1962	1964	1962	1964	1962	1964	1962	1964	1962	1964
FINNISH ³	414	416	2942	2345	3356	2761	3004	3909	5021	6417	314	384
SWEDISH ³	75	67	471	126	546	193	374	409	501	584	30	31
TOTALS	489	483	3413	2471	3902	2954	3378	4318	5522	7001	344	415

Sources: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 341; Ibid, 1965 Table 340.

1. Note that the term Public Library, used in both Finnish and Swedish in the National Statistics up to 1963, has since been changed to Municipal Library.
2. In 1962, central public libraries in towns and cities numbered 66, branches numbered 199, giving a total of 265. These branches held 3,246,000 volumes, and had a circulation of 10,083,000 volumes borrowed by 396,000 library users. In 1964, central public libraries in towns and cities numbered 68, branches numbered 193, giving a total of 261. These branches held 3,775,000 volumes, and had a circulation of 11,588,000 volumes, borrowed by 434,000 library users. No breakdown on a language basis exists in the National Statistics on city and town public libraries. In any case these are usually mixed in their holdings and language breakdowns would be impossible to obtain, except for holdings by language, which, however, would be meaningless statistics.
3. Note that all figures are based on the basic language designation of the branches. This does not ipso facto mean that the holdings in these branches are exclusively Finnish or Swedish, or that the borrowers necessarily either belong to the one or the other group, or that they borrow according to their language group designation. Thus the 1964 statistics - following the great reorganization and consolidation of rural libraries - may be less satisfactory indicators of language breakdowns since many hitherto Swedish branches were incorporated into Finnish branches. Again, note that no mixed branch statistics are available.

TABLE IIIA

Finances of Public Libraries in Rural Communes: 1961 and 1964

	State grants 1000s Fmk		Total		Salaries		Books	
	Expenditures 1000s Fmk							
	1961	1964	1961	1964	1961	1964	1961	1964
FINNISH	655.6	4289.7	2717.4	6709.2	953.5	2373.0	1223.0	3007.2
SWEDISH	76.2	461.1	376.2	726.1	145.5	278.0	165.1	352.2
TOTALS	731.8	4750.8	3093.6	7471.3	1099.0	2651.0	1388.1	3359.4

Sources: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 341; Ibid., 1965, Table 340.

6. The Cultural Clause in Operation¹

Although the Cultural Clause of the Constitution at first glance appears inoperative, for no legal framework exists within which the needs of both cultures are satisfied and their rights guarded, nevertheless, some heed is paid to linguistic needs in grants indirectly awarded by the state through the Finnish Academy. When this institution -- a smaller but comparable version of the Academie Française and the Russian Academy of Sciences -- was founded by statute in 1947, one of its clauses provided for the annual granting of 50 stipends to be divided among artists in various categories, with the promise that half of the grants to authors would go to writers in the Swedish language.

1. See Chapter on Constitutional Problems, pp. 64 et seq.

By the 1960s the number and size of the grants had become so inadequate that a state committee was set up to consider the problem. The Abo Committee, (as it is generally known, by the name of the Chairman), in 1965 proposed a far reaching reform in direct subsidies to creative artists. The Committee proposed enlarging the number of grants to 168 annually, with periods of times varying according to need from one year to two years or five years. Of these, 42 were to be reserved for writers.

The committee's report received much criticism on wide grounds and in widely separated quarters. Consequently it has not yet been put into operation. Whether in the future its proposals will be implemented or not is immaterial. Already it has been of service to the arts, particularly in outlining the first comprehensive programme of possible state support for the creative artist. It is also as a result of the committee's proposals that a less far reaching, though important, change has been brought about: the Academy's grants to artists are to be doubled in number beginning in 1967.

Thus from 1967 on, 100 grants of 850 Fmk per month are to be awarded to artists divided in the following manner: one half is to be granted to those under 40 years of age, the other half to those over the age; 36 are to be given

to writers -- 8 of these to Swedish-speaking authors; 24 are to be awarded to composers, musicians and singers; 20 to painters and 20 to stage artists.

The state, in addition to the above, also supports authors of belles-lettres in other ways: older writers may be granted a state pension; and budgets of late have included 20,000 Fmk for prizes, which are usually awarded in May of the year following publication. Publishing has also in the past enjoyed a modicum of state support, and usually 12,000 Fmk and 3,000 Fmk have been earmarked in the budget for support of publishing literature in Finnish and in Swedish respectively. The 1967 budget proposals include yet another advance in the form of a prize of 15,000 Fmk to be awarded to a dramatist.

To the above types of state subvention of artists may be added the system of library royalties whereby authors are granted small sums based on the number of their books deposited in public libraries.¹

1. A sum equivalent to 5% of total state appropriations for libraries is divided among authors and translators whose works are deposited in public libraries.

That all these efforts are still far from satisfying the need of artists - a need created by the ever-rising demand for their work in an expanding society - is indicated by the recent decision of a Swedo-Finn author to quit his vocation¹ on the grounds of economic difficulties; and by the rising public discussion of ways and means of implementing a system of state-salaries for artists - particularly authors - such as is in operation in Sweden. This problem, however, is not confined to Finland. The Norwegians and Danes are also concerned and the Swedes are not altogether satisfied with the extent of their programme. Perhaps because of its inter-Nordic character, it is safe to suggest that in a few years time the clamour for a solution will have reached such proportions that at least a partial and more equitable solution will emerge -- on a pan-Nordic, rather than purely Finnish level. For economic reasons Finland, however, will still likely lag behind her neighbours.

The picture of the operation of the Cultural Clause that emerges, then, is not one that shows any clear lines of development or lends itself to unequivocating definition. While grants earmarked for Swedo-Finns exist in two specific instances - the 8 Academy grants and the 3,000 Fmk publishers'

1. Hufvudstadsbladet, August 24, 1966.

grant - both are on the one hand clearly inadequate, yet on the other, far exceed the percentage proportion that the Swedo-Finn population could expect on the basis of its size.¹ The division of support thus reflects pragmatism, rather than either a principle of equality or one of idealism. In other areas of artistic endeavour, the state support reflects the disregard of any cultural cleavage that may exist and again on a pragmatic basis seeks to support the individual artistic effort rather than the ethnic idealization of that effort. Available resources are parcelled out on a pragmatic basis, reflecting only a language division and not a wider cultural ethnic split.²

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1. In the case of the writers' grant, the Swedo-Finns get over 22% of the grants and in the publishing grant they get 20%.
 2. Subsequent parts of this chapter will put this contention in perspective.

II THE ARTS

1. The Fine Arts, The Visual Arts, The Commercial Arts, Etc.

a) Painting and Sculpture. On the one hand it cannot be denied that a tradition of Swedo-Finn painting and sculpture exists; yet, on the other hand, one should not emphasize the differences of schools of art as being ethnically significant. What one can say, however, is that it was the Swedish-speaking upper class that completely dominated the Finnish art world until well into the 1840s, when the Finnish nationalism of Lönnrot and Snellman began to raise forth a nationally-conscious Finnish art based on a glorification of the landscape, the "good" rural life and the folk arts -- costumery, carving and design. And indeed it was the enthusiasm of this period that really established the epoch of modern painting and sculpture in Finland, although there were several Swedish-oriented modern¹ predecessors, such as the sculptor Erik Cainberg (1771-1816; a Finn trained on state scholarships in Stockholm and Rome), the painter Alexander Lauréns (1783-1823; trained in Sweden where he also worked for most of his career), or the painter

1. The term "modern" is used to distinguish the medievalistic church-oriented and largely church-confined art of the 17th and 18th centuries from the secular art of the 19th century on.

Gustaf Wilhelm Finnberg (1784-1833; also trained in Stockholm and the first portrait painter of stature in Finland).

These and others - particularly Finnberg and his "school" of portraitists - worked in the limited milieu of the awakening artistic appreciation of the upper, Swedish-speaking classes, but had no impact on the common people at large.

It was Robert Wilhelm Ekman (1808-73), a second generation Swedo-Finn who in 1845, after twenty years of international studies, resettled in Finland and founded the "school" of art that finally reached and awakened the Finnish-speakers to an appreciation of modern painting and sculpture, and infused a self-perpetuating development of indigenous artists and art. Of course, since the world of art has always transcended ethnic, national and state borders, the art that now began flourishing at no time developed into a strictly "Finnish" style, except in terms of choice of subjects and laudation of the grandness of the homeland. Indeed, a parallel can be drawn with Kreighoff in Canada -- whose style was merely a modification of Constable or the overrated Thompson and the Group of Seven -- who merely applied the realism of Paris to the Canadian scene.

Of particular import in the development of landscape painting -- apart from the Fennoman romantics - was Werner Holmberg (1830-60) who during the 1850s laid the foundation of this area of painting and transferred the dying European romanticism from Düsseldorf, its last remaining centre, to Finland. Holmberg was followed by Berndt Lindblom (1841-1914) and Hjalmar Munsterlyelm (1840-1905) who carried a modified romanticism of "beautiful meadows and sunny dales" into the twentieth century.

Albert Edelfelt (1864-1905) meanwhile brought a new tack to this romanticism by his paintings of historical events and figures. In this he was directed mainly by the Belgian de Keyser in style but in technique also by Monet and Gérôme -- a truly interesting artistic mixing of techniques. Historicism eventually led him to religiosity, in which he was later followed and superseded by the great Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865-1931), the internationally famous central figure of the twentieth century Finnish Romantic Movement, whose stylized romantic-realism lent a new psychological-religious fervour to the ancient Kalevalan Finnish nationalism.

The presently active community of painters has diverse roots among which, in addition to romanticism, the

expressionism introduced to Finland by the so-called November group¹ in 1916 and the colour and form of the October group² (founded in 1934) all play their part, but where of course the influences of the latter group, in their turn influenced by both American and European non-figurative colour experimentation, is paramount. Among these Anitra Lucander, Per Stenius and L-G. Nordström are the leading lights. Among figure painters the Picasso-inspired Erik Enroth has already reached high acclaim with his stark and restrained composition and rich use of colour.³

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1. This group formed around Tyko Sallinen (1879-1955) and included a variety of styles and techniques: Jalmari Ruokokoski (1886-1936), Juho Makelva (1885-1945), Marcus Collin (1882-), and so on. Their overall development can, however, be covered by the term expressionism.
 2. The October group included Ernst Krohn (1911-1934), Sven Gronwall (1908-), Sakari Tohka (1911-1958), Mikko Laasio (1913-), and Helge Dahlman (1924-), Aimo Kanerva (1909-). The last three named are later recruits who joined the two survivors of the three originals over a period of time and have given the group viability.
 3. Only a few of the many painters are mentioned. A thorough, if brief, review of almost all Finnish painting is found in Finnland, Geschichte und Gegenwart, 1964 (the German edition of Finland Today, 1963), essay by Sakari Saarikivi "Moderne Malerei", with over 30 plates, both monochrome and colour. (The English edition does not contain this article).

Sculpture in Finland has almost without exception been of the heroic yet expressive Rodin-type, taking both the Bible and Kalevala for sources of inspiration, and using gypsum, marble, granite, as well as bronze-casting techniques. Among the leading lights in sculpture are Robert Stigell (1852-1907), Ville Vallgren (1855-1940), Victor Malmberg (1867-1936) and Felix Nylund (1878-1940). These have been followed by Victor Jansson (1886-), Gunnar Finne (1886-1952), and Gunna Elfgrén (1896-) who have added a simplified dimension of form and line and a greater, modern European plasticity to traditional Finnish sculpture. The greatest of Finnish sculptors undoubtedly is Wäinö Aaltonen (1894-), who is still active and producing. As everywhere, the rising costs of sculpting have somewhat restricted growth in this art in Finland in the post-war years, nevertheless a number of younger artists of promise are active.¹

b) Architecture. Perhaps in no other form of art are Finns so uniformly and unreservedly famous as in architecture. Whereas Le Corbusier and Wright are revered not because they belong to a French or an American school of

1. See Saakivi, "Finnlands Moderne Bildhauerkunst", ibid., for a thorough overview of the field of sculpture. The English edition of 1963 contains a similar (though not the same) article by the author.

architecture but because they are unique in the rather drab architectural climates of their countries, the great Finnish architects are simply known as members of the unique Finnish school.

The presently world-renowned Finnish functional school is approximately sixty years old but it traces its direct antecedents to the building of Helsinki as a capital city during the second decade of the 19th century by C.L. Engel (1778-1840), a German-born architect who introduced the neo-classical form to Finland. Engel was followed by A.F. Granstedt (1779-1849) and by Th. Chiewitz (1815-1875) who modified the master with neo-gothicism. Various other contributions were made in the latter part of the century by A.H. Dahlström (1829-1882), Th. Hoijer (1834-1910) and Gustaf Nyström (1856-1917) as well as others, while architecture passed through a period of instability and flux. With the appearance of the great Eliel Saarinen (1873-1950) in 1905, however, stability was resumed and the National Romantic School born. But Saarinen soon moved on and established the functionalism of artistic merit through his work in the United States - where he worked from 1922 on - that has since been further refined by his son, Eero Saarinen, and many followers, such as Viljo Rewell (1912-1965), who have

added new dimensions of design, use of stark relief and blended natural settings and materials with standard building materials to form a pleasing yet highly functional use of space. In addition Finnish architects have invaded the domain of the town planner and have revolutionized the use of space and natural settings in much the same functional yet artistic manner. The foremost and latest example of the latter is the garden dormitory-suburb of Tapiola near Helsinki.

To attempt an ethnic-linguistic differentiation of architectural activity between Swedo-Finn and Finn would be even more meaningless than attempting a similar differentiation in the world of painting and sculpture. Suffice it to say that Swedo-Finns, despite their minority position, have made a contribution, out of proportion to their population size, in both architecture and art.

c) Commercial Arts. The artistic merit of Finnish ceramic, textile-wood-carving and furniture design is yet another area where cooperation rather than distinction of contributions by the two linguistic groups plays the major role. Nevertheless, the whole area of effort is largely Kalevala-inspired and today mostly in the hands of Finnish designers and artisans, although many of the firms in these industries are bilingual or even Swedish-owned.

The particular merits that distinguish Finnish ceramic, textile and furniture design are that they are a blend of the highly functional simplicity of Scandinavian design and the rusticity of the ancient Finnish countryside. Thus, for example, instead of the stylized china coffee service of Sweden the Finns produce simply designed undecorated earthenware coffee-cups. Or again, in furniture, the Finns' settees and armchairs are wide, low and massive with memorable cushions in rich plain colours woven from wool, whereas the typical Scandinavian design is spindly, fragile-looking and much more colourful.

d) Music. Music is another area of artistic activity for which the Finns have had a world audience, though mainly through one composer, Jean Sibelius, a Finnish-speaker by birth. Yet even a brief review of Finnish music over the past 150 years shows that for most of the period it was the Swedo-Finn who provided the leadership in matters of music. Indeed it is only during the present century and as a result of Sibelius' work that the Finnish-speakers have replaced Swedo-Finns as the main developers of music.

The "founding" composer of "modern" creative Finnish music, as distinguished from folk music and church-music, was a Swedo-Finn, Fredrik August Ehrström (1801-1850), who among other compositions provided the music for many of

Runeberg's poems. Ehrström, as Runeberg, and as painting and architecture, was also caught up in the heroic-romanticism of Kalevala so that much of this work has over time almost taken on the character of folk music. It was only with Fredrik Pacius (1809-1891), a German who took up a post as teacher of music at the University in 1834, that Finnish composition took on a more variegated form, yet did not succeed in breaking, but rather intensified, the folk romanticism of the past.

The next figure in music to have an innovating influence was Robert Kajanus (1856-1933) who laid the foundations of orchestral composition with his *Kullervomarch* and *Ainosymphony*, that was later to be lifted to new and international renown by Sibelius. Since Kajanus' work has been described as "esthetic Fennomanism" it is clear that the romanticism of the past was not broken with, but was merely sophisticated. Indeed, not even Sibelius broke away from romanticism, but found his inspiration (though much disguised) in folklore much in the manner of Tchaikowsky, Liszt, and Grieg. With the appearance of Sibelius, who used both Finnish and Swedo-Finn folklore, the music of Finland became truly pan-Finlandic and the only significant differences between Finnish and Swedo-Finn music is that in song different languages are used. And it is also with Sibelius -- particularly after

the establishment of Sibelius' Academy -- that Finnish-speakers in larger numbers were drawn to composition. This does not mean that the Swedo-Finns in the present century have not had their great composers, who particularly through the encouragement of the Brage society¹ composed many works for exclusively Swedish audiences and Swedish music festivals. On the contrary, such men as Selim Palmgren (1878-1951), Carl Hirn (1886-1949), Bengt Carlsson (1890-1953) were very active in Swedish music circles. And today, Nils-Erik Ringblom (1907-), Nils-Erik Fougstedt (1910-), and Erik Bergman (1911-) and others are active in carrying on the work of their predecessors. However, the works of all these composers bear no marked and characteristic distinction as "Swedo-Finn music", entirely apart from a "Fenno-Finn music". As already mentioned in earlier references, the art of Finland -- particularly during the present century -- is a pan-Finlandic art that is in close contact with the rest of the world and distinguishes itself less and less from that of the major world trends. Any distinctions on the home front between the two languages thus tend to be limited to distinguishing the ancestry of the artist on the basis of his mother-tongue rather than on the basis of his work.

1. See chapter on Voluntary Associations, p. FL67.

In so far as music performance and appreciation is concerned, again there is no meaningful way to distinguish between the language groups, for both Swedes and Finns have a great affinity to song and melody, and the mixing of composers' cultural sources as well as their coexistence and the Swedish domination for centuries has tended to produce an overall similarity of outlook in matters of music, as well as other forms of art. Both Finns and Swedes, of course, have their voluntary associations devoted to music and both groups have their regional song and music festivals where an artificially created "nationality" in music is brought to the fore. In professional music activity no distinctions are made on the basis of nationality. Orchestras are generally supported by communes and state support is given not on the basis of linguistic divisions but on ad hoc needs as presented by the communal government to the State.

e) The Theatre. Of all the different art forms that of the theatre is the youngest in Finland, being but a little over a century old. Of course some form of theatre has been present since the latter half of the 18th century when theatre companies began making tours to Finland, but an indigenous theatre did not appear until the middle of the following century when the nationalism of those days gave rise to demands for the building of an indigenous company with a permanent home.

The first Finnish produced presentation, the operetta "King Charles' Hunt" (in Swedish) with book by Zachris Topelius and libretto by Fredrik Pacius, was presented on March 24, 1852, in makeshift quarters and with the amateur assistance of a hundred leading Helsinki families. The result was that interest in the theatre soon led to the building of a stately theatre building, which was completed in 1860 and duly inaugurated two years later with the première of J.J. Wecksell's tragedy Daniel Hjort (in Swedish). Unfortunately the building burned down in 1863 but a new building was completed by 1866, this time named Nya Teatern (New Theatre) and the vigour of its supporters was, if anything, increased, for in the same year the first theatre school was opened with actors from Sweden as instructors. Thus the theatre in Finland by the end of the 1860s not only had an attractive building, a permanent company (including a playwright) but even a school from which to draw future talent.

Within a few years of the beginnings of the Swedish-language theatre sufficient interest had been created among Finnish-speakers for a purely Finnish theatre to be created. The birth of the latter is usually given as 1869 when the Biblical drama Lea by Alexis Kivi based on Renans's Life of Christ was premièred. But it was not until three years later, in 1872, that the Finnish theatre acquired its first

permanent building and company, both much smaller than the Swedish counterpart. It was only in 1902 that this theatre, renamed the National Theatre, acquired a fully equipped modern building and complete facilities for a large permanent company.

Though from these modest beginnings the theatre has grown to over 85 companies, of which 40 are professional and permanent, the indigenous output of Finnish dramatists of both languages remains poor. The vast majority of productions, with some 20,000 performances a year, is of translated English (with Shakespeare foremost) and French (Molière pre-eminent) plays.¹ Indeed the indigenous playwright's production has been so poor that not a single one has proceeded beyond a Nordic audience. Hence the Finnish theatre remains one of actors, rather than of authors.

Table IV shows that between seasons of 1952/53 and 1962/63 there was a sizeable increase in interest in the theatre in Finland. This is indicated by the increase of the total number of performances presented by the theatres

1. Two thirds of productions are translations of foreign works.

receiving state support from 4,574 to 6,379,¹ as well as the increase in the number of theatres receiving a state grant from 31 to 36. At the same time it is interesting to note that the state support almost tripled, from 650,000 new Fmk in 1952/53 to 1,670,000 new Fmk in 1962/63.

Of the total of over 40 professional theatres,² only five are Swedish, but despite this relatively small number no fixed formula of State support on a language basis exists. Instead State support is given on an ad hoc "need" basis as in the case of orchestras. Even so the largest of the Swedish theatres, the Svenska Teatern in Helsinki, is practically self-sufficient through its supporting foundation. The four other professional Swedish theatres, Åbo Svenska Teater, Vasa Teater, Lilla Teatern (Helsinki) and Kammarteatern (Helsinki) all have their supporting foundations, but are not nearly in the same financial position as their largest compatriot and thus require frequent outside support.

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1. The total increase is much larger than the figure indicates for two of the 36 theatres did not report data, consequently the latter figure represent performances at 34 theatres only.
 2. Several receive support from municipalities or foundations; none are "commercial".

TABLE IV

The Theatre 1952/53 - 1962/63; selected years

Theatrical Season	Theatres Receiving State Grant		Actors	Total Per- formances (including operas, etc.)	State grant in 1000s Fmk
	Number	Number supplying information			
1952/53	31	31	520	4574	650
1955/56	32	32	490	4984	710
1960/61	35	33	562	5999	970
1962/63	36	34	582	6379	1670

Performances of plays according to nationality of authors							
Finnish	Scandi- navian	Russian	German	English	French	American	Others
1540	291	80	67	465	478	285	332
1686	241	90	185	261	477	568	273
1615	206	101	563	608	611	626	226
2079	130	155	345	474	1117	384	543

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963. Table 348.

Swedish theatrical activities on a semi-professional basis, in addition to the amateur theatre, have since 1945 been cared for in the rural areas by Landsteatern which operates as a touring company frequently assisted by actors from the established Swedish theatre-companies.

2. The Finnish Culture

From the foregoing review of the language, literature and the various arts in Finland it is clear that very little distinction exists between what might be termed Finnish culture and Swedo-Finn culture. Rather the two are so closely related and intermingled that were it not for the linguistic differences and the self-conscious "linguistic group nationalism" of the Swedo-Finns one would be justified in treating Finland as a unicultural country. Since, however, the Swedo-Finns consciously maintain that they represent and propagate a culture separate from the Finns we must at least attempt to discover the basis of this assumption. Obviously painting, sculpture, the commercial arts, architecture, music and drama in Finland are so highly integrated that Swedo-Finns cannot -- however much they may insist on declaring their great contributions in these efforts -- produce sufficient examples of distinction from the overall Finnish contributions to establish a

distinctive Swedo-Finn culture. Only in literature, among all the established arts, is there sufficient illustration of difference from the Finnish norm to substantiate a cultural distinction. However, this distinction is based, not on an ethnic-cultural but on a class- and education-cultural heritage, that is, whereas Finnish literature is described as mainly rural-proletarian romantic, Swedo-Finn literature can be described as bourgeois-intellectual.

Since the established arts thus draw on inspiration from both the folk culture of the Finns and the centuries of Swedo-Finn upper-class domination, the only area of meaningful cultural distinction left for the Swedo-Finns is that of the folk culture of their own rural areas. This, however, has a history of intensive cultivation of only about a half century, from the time of the Brage Society's formation in 1906, and even this cultivation -- mainly because the direction has been provided by the cosmopolitan upper-class Swedo-Finn elite -- has strong pan-Finlandic and even cosmopolitan influences.

Objectively it can perhaps be said that whereas up to the end of the nineteenth century there were three main cultural strains in Finland -- the folk culture of the Finnish masses, the cultivated culture of the mainly Swedish



upper-classes and the weak and self-contained folk culture of the Swedo-Finn rural dwellers -- the twentieth century has seen the establishment of a pan-Finlandic culture, divided into two unequal parts: the relatively complacent Finnish-language culture of the majority, and the relatively militant revived Swedo-Finn folk culture, still attempting to establish itself. The rôles of the two are distinct: whereas the former could be described as the "way of life" of Finns in general (including Swedo-Finns), the latter is a largely artificially manufactured sparetime activity trotted out at folk festivals and composed almost exclusively of folk dances, folksongs, folk music and a folkloristic and historic pride in rural architecture, all kept alive by the desire of a language group to preserve its linguistic identity.

In this light, then, it is little wonder that the cultural clause of the Constitution has never been applied in a culturally consistent way, and that its application is largely restricted to the preservation of linguistic rights and Swedish-language education. Even the Swedo-Finn group itself, though it has several times raised the demand for cultural autonomy which would in effect set up a financially independent linguistic entity, or a state within a state, able to direct resources at will to all areas of language-



cultural activity - schools, theatres, folk culture, arts and sciences - has since the war accepted the futility of this attempt and has instead reinforced demands on a piecemeal basis. Indeed, given the mixing of cultures, it appears that the ad hoc basis¹ is much the optimum guarantee for preservation of the Swedish language, if not a distinctive Swedo-Finn culture, particularly since the Swedo-Finn leadership itself is an inextricable part of the pan-Finlandic elite and an important carrier of the pan-Finlandic culture. To attempt to separate this leadership from its natural home among the pan-Finlandic elite would most likely result in reinforcing the Finnization of this very leadership, rather than strengthening the Swedo-Finn position.

1. See, however, section I.6, supra. Although a certain state framework for assisting the Swedish language literature exists, other cultural activities (including the public libraries, supra, p. E32) are supported only on an ad hoc basis.

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MASS MEDIA (PRESS)

by

T. Miljan
October 1966

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A. THE NEWS PRESS

Historically, the origins of the Finnish news-press coincide with the origins of the Swedish press. The latter was founded in 1645 when the Ordinari Post Tijdender began publication in Stockholm. A native Finnish press, however, was not born for another century and a half; that is, until 1771 when the Swedish-language series of newspapers, later known under the collective rubric Åbo Tidningar, commenced publication. The first Finnish-language newspaper was published four years later in 1775 but the paper, Suomenkieliset Tietosanomat, survived only 23 issues before it expired for lack of reader support. Thus the brief appearance of this first Finnish-language paper was more of a curiosity than a beginning for the Finnish-language press since another forty years were to pass before a Finnish-language paper¹ with a longer life-period made its appearance.

Despite the frequent appearance of newspapers in both Finnish and Swedish during the period of the sporadic existence of the Åbo Tidningar, the ninety years from 1771 to 1861 did not really see the start of a regular news-press. Rather, the time can be described as a period of gestation or a period of irregular journals. The era of the regular modern news-press only began in 1861 with the appearance of Helsingfors Dagblad.

1. Turun Wikko-Sanomat, 1820-27 and 1829-1831.

The reasons for the long period of gestation are many and complex but can be (arbitrarily) simplified into a pattern of three intermixed causes: censorship, political conditions, and education. The fact that the former two operated intermittently and unevenly throughout the period in question lengthened the period of gestation.¹

When the Abo Tidningar first commenced publication, Finland was enjoying an unprecedented period of party activity which led to considerable freedom of expression. However, within a decade of taking office, the new Swedish King, Gustavus III, became a virtual autocrat and took direct control of the internal politics of the state. The natural consequence of this, added to the concurrent outbreak of hostilities with Russia, was that the freedom of the press was periodically restricted.² Incipient rebellion by the nobles, both in Sweden and Finland, and the Russian hostilities drove Gustavus to such a point of unbearable autocracy that one of his own officers murdered him in 1792. His son and successor, Gustavus IV, had better relations with his subjects. However, the demands of the unceasing enmity with Russia and his pathological hatred

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1. See Historical Review of the Social and Political Development on Bilingual Finland. Section IIIA, Political Development: Autonomy.
 2. A Royal Decree, promulgated on 2.12.1766, gave complete freedom to the press. By the end of the "Gustavian period" (i.e. Gustavus III and Gustavus IV) not a single paragraph of this decree was left standing.

of Napoleon complicated and confused his diplomatic activity so much that the country, and particularly the Finnish part of the realm, was involved in almost constant warfare with Russia until the fateful winter of 1808-1809 when Sweden was decisively defeated and was forced to conclude a peace that ceded Finland to Russia.

The long period of Gustavian warfare led, of course, to increasing political restrictions and press censorship, and also to chaotic conditions in the country so that in any case little press activity was possible. After the Russian takeover the political situation was stabilized. However, except for the first year that the Diet was convoked, politics was in the hands of a clique of conservative, upper-class appointees to the Senate, which meant that politics once again became moribund. Press censorship, like all other Swedish laws, continued to be applied with the same reactionary zeal by these conservative Senators as it had been under the regime of the Gustavs. Moreover, the reasons for censorship had changed but little: as under the Gustavs, so now under the autonomous government of Finland, the rulers felt it necessary to prevent the importation of foreign written material and ideas which might propagate the liberal and nationalist ideas that were then moving freely about Europe in the wake of the French revolution. Consequently, the old Gustavian censorship laws were not even revised until 1829.

Yet even the new censorship decree of 14.10.1829, the first enacted by autonomous Finland, did not substantially alter the existing Gustavian concept of censorship either in its purport or in its method. Instead it became merely the first in a long series of such laws during the period of Russian hegemony that more or less effectively muzzled the publication of opinions and ideas not acceptable to the ruling clique. The pressure of this suppression was not, however, uniform for the whole period, and, with the gradual rise of popularized politics from the 1850s on, could often be circumvented or disregarded entirely for brief periods.

Hence it was not until political conditions decreased the power of the censor that the first modern newspaper began publication. The paper, Helsingfors Dagblad, established in 1861, was of course a Swedish-language paper since the Swedish language was still dominant. It was nevertheless followed quickly in 1869 by the first modern Finnish-language paper, Uusi Suometar. Thereafter the development of the Finnish-language press was swift. Of the Finnish-language papers still in existence in 1962, six were founded in the 1870s, five in the following decade and eight in the 1890s.¹

1. Cf. tables in Section II, 3b infra.

Education, the third general factor responsible for the slow growth of the newspaper in Finland, was exclusively the privilege of the upper classes, the burghers and the clergy. Other classes in society--the growing urban industrial class and the landed and landless peasantry that made up the overwhelming majority of the total population¹ during the newspaper gestation period--were given little more than the rudiments of education in the "three R's".² Indeed it

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1. In 1811 the population was 1,053,000. Of the total only approximately 40,800 lived in cities. Nearly all the rural population was composed of freeholding, renting and landless peasants. Most of the nobility and the minuscule burgher class lived in the cities. The clergy, of course, were dispersed across the nation, mostly in rural areas, but their total numbers could not have exceeded the total of the nobility and burghers by much. We come to the conclusion, then, that almost one million people in 1811 belonged to the rural peasant classes. By comparison in 1950 the class breakdown of the working population of 1,553,000 (out of a total of 4,029,803) was as follows:

Working class	-	52%
Farmers	-	19%
Middle class	-	21%
Upper class	-	3%
Unclassified	-	5%

Source: Introduction to Finland (Helsinki, 1960), p. 105.

2. A Royal Decree in 1723 required all parents, on penalty of a fine, to teach their children to read. A similar decree in 1740 instructed clergymen to conduct confirmation schools for periods of 3-6 months yearly. In 1763 these were made compulsory. In 1762 the obligation to hire teachers for these schools was placed on the congregations. The elementary school system expanded a little with the introduction of the Bell-Lancaster system in 1820 and the Sunday School in 1840, but a modern national elementary school system was not begun until 1856 and did not gain a firm hold until 1874 when the total modern elementary school population was still only 15,220. It was not until 1921 that eight years of attendance at school was made mandatory for all.

was not until 1858 that the first Finnish-language secondary school opened its doors. Thus it can be seen that throughout the gestation period there were few people in the country who were interested in reading newspapers and that most of these were Swedish-speaking. It was not until the educational level of the country was raised sufficiently during the last quarter of the century, and the masses became sufficiently politicized that the era of the modern newspaper began in Finland. A precondition to the regular appearance of newspapers in the Finnish language was the removal in 1854 of the 1850 censorship law (this was a revision of an older law), that forbade the publication of all books in Finnish, except those aiming at "religious edification or economic usefulness". At the same time, for internal political reasons, the press during the Crimean War was given a freer rein and the founding and publication of the journal type of paper flourished, but the circulation of these was still severely limited by lack of readership. For example, Suometar (founded in 1854) with 5,000 subscribers had the largest circulation of all papers in the middle fifties and several times the circulation of the next largest, Saima.¹

1. Both of these papers must be listed among the journal type of papers since they were more opinion carriers than newspapers and since their continued existence depended largely on their founder and editor. Both disappeared after a few years.

I. The Modern Press, 1867-1918

The years from 1863 to 1917, or from the convening of the Diet of 1863 to the Declaration of Independence, are known in Finnish history as the "Constitutional period". Politically the period can be split into two parts with the division coming at the end of the 1890s. The first part was characterized by the relatively frictionless co-existence of autonomous Finland with Czarist Russia, and the second was stamped with the strong attempts at Russification of Finland. As the former period was the golden age of the Finnish press, so the latter was one of special censorship difficulties. Nevertheless such threats were not able either to suffocate completely or even disrupt the press, for by this time it had become self-sufficient and mature enough to withstand this type of oppression.

During the former part of the Constitutional period the Finnish press came into its first period of full-flowering. A discussion of the sudden emergence of the press must take into account four different points: political situation, censorship, education and economic conditions. The chief operative factors in opening the door were the parliamentarization of governmental activity, the steady politicization of the masses and the corresponding limitation

of the absolute bureaucratic power of the Senate. All these factors, but particularly the regular parliamentary activity from 1863 on and the ensuing growth of party politics during the eighth and ninth decades, were instrumental in the growth of the press into the modern news distribution and political opinion-forming medium that the Finnish press is today. This is, of course, an almost totally different attitude toward its function from that which the press had accepted during the period of gestation. Then the Finnish press had considered its main duty to be the active education of the masses, while the Swedish papers had tended to concentrate on the intellectual side of the question. Because of diverse censorship regulations, political opinion and reportage were almost completely lacking as was also "hard" news, particularly from abroad, although the latter made a break through during the Crimean War. With the onset of mass politics, however, the rising political parties founded or supported newspapers in the attempt to sway political opinion, so that political reportage and opinion writing became acceptable journalistic endeavours.

Similarly, as a result of the increasing influence of parliamentarism and mass politics, the power of the Senate in censorship matters was limited by popular pressure. Censorship by no means disappeared but its application

became much less harsh, and for the remainder of most of the Constitutional period played a relatively insignificant ~~role~~ in the growth of the press. In this the temporary lifting of pre-censoring during 1866 and part of 1867 helped greatly, for it demonstrated to the governing bureaucracy that freedom of the press did not constitute an immediate threat to political stability. The quiet and careful tone of the press during this year and a half of relative freedom depended, however, not on any concept of responsibility for public and political order on the part of the press, but rather on the habit of carefulness in expression that long experience with censorship brings, and on the several recent lessons in survival that too free criticism of government had taught.¹ The upshot of this brief interlude was that when pre-censorship was again imposed in 1867 it was of a much more liberal kind.

The third general factor that played a role in the development of Finland's press was the growth in education. In general terms this meant simply that a system of national education began to take shape largely in response to semi-popular demands, and that through the great and widespread

1. For example, just a year before the pre-censorship was lifted in 1866, J.W. Lillya of the Abo Underrättelser had criticized bureaucratic ineptitude and had thus raised the ire of the authorities. When, early in the new year of 1865, he wrote freely upon the political unrest in Åland the authorities clamped down and took him into imprisoned "custody" at Åbo castle.

interest shown in education, interest in information for its own sake rapidly increased the number of newspaper readers.

The fourth factor was economic development. Finland during the Constitutional period experienced an industrial revolution, on a much smaller scale than those in such countries as England and Germany, of course, but it was a revolution nevertheless, and it had a profound effect upon social patterns in Finland. The cause-and-effect reaction of railways, an independent currency, entrepreneurial freedom, banking and insurance activity, export of lumber and lumber products and the beginnings of winter navigation, produced a steady growth of new industry-based towns and of an industrial class. These and other changes in the social pattern did not become fully evident until toward the end of the century when Finnish society, though still firmly based on freeholding agriculture, had nevertheless taken on the form of modern European society. The changes of the industrial revolution themselves acted as a catalyst and speedily transformed even the somnolent and backward agricultural class into a politically aware and socially-conscious part of modern Finland. The newspaper was both a cause and an effect of this transformation.

But what, specifically, did all these factors mean in the development of the press during the four first decades of the Constitutional period? To find out, let us briefly examine the press-developments decade by decade.

The press in the 1860s. The year 1861, two years before the beginning of the Constitutional period, saw the first publication of what is referred to as Finland's first modern newspaper, Helsingfors Dagblad, a Swedish-language daily that appeared six days a week until 1871 when it became the first Scandinavian seven-day paper. The newspaper was edited by Robert Lagerborg and Anders Herman Chydenius, Finland's first professional, full-time journalists.¹ The success of the newspaper, which for the next two decades was the largest and most influential paper in Finland, is directly related to the journalistic genius, the liberal political views and the lively leadership in political and social reform provided by these two men.

Although a large number of other newspapers were founded and published during the sixties, the only other newspaper that made its mark during the decade was Uusi Suometar. Uusi Suometar, founded in 1869 and a Finnish-language paper, provided a counter-balance to Helsingfors Dagblad. Like the latter it also depended in no small measure for its success on the fact that its editor, Viktor Löfgren, was a full-time journalist -- the first Finnish-speaking full-time journalist. Still there was one important difference between

1. Prior to this all newspapers and periodicals in Finland had been edited (and published) by part-time journalists, most of whom were either academics or book-publishers.

the two newspapers that determined their ultimate fate. Whereas the Swedish-language paper was founded by non-partisan liberals and operated as an independent progressive and liberal organ that refused to involve itself in the language struggles of the 1870s and 1880s, the Finnish paper was founded by Young Fennomen and became their principal organ. While it developed with the growth of the Finnish language and the politicization of the Finnish masses, became the largest Finnish-language paper of the nineteenth century, and has survived to the present, the Swedish-language paper gradually lost its readership in the 1880s and closed its presses in 1889.

During the sixties the character of the press changed remarkably. The Finnish press, as represented by both the Helsingfors Dagblad and Uusi Suometar, but particularly by the latter, had changed from an immature, part-time, educationally oriented opinion-press into a mature information-dispensing, politically oriented, full-time modern news-press.

The growing pains of the sixties can best be illustrated by the high rate of attrition among newspapers. Only two of the numerous newspapers established before the sixties lived through the decade and survived to publish today -- the Åbo Underrättelser, established in 1824, and Vasabladet, established in 1839 (originally under the Swedish name Vasa

Tidningen, but later changed to the Finnish, Ilmarinen and then back again to the Swedish, Vasabladet). Three Finnish-language papers established in the 1850s also continued publication in the sixties but did not live through the decade.

Of the 16 Finnish-language and 11 Swedish-language newspapers established during the sixties only three of the former and six of the latter survived to publish in the seventies and of these only four are still in existence, the Björneborgs Tidning, established in 1860, Borgåbladet (1861), Hufvudstadsbladet (1864), and Uusi Suometar (1869) which in 1919 changed its name to Uusi Suomi. Three of the survivors publish in Swedish and one in Finnish.

The 1870s. The ten years following the pioneering decade of the sixties saw the actual start of wide-spread Fennoman pressure for the cultural, economic and political equality of the Finnish-speaking classes with the Swedish-speaking upper-class. The struggle was largely carried on under the cover of the language struggle and the Finnish-language press during this decade made great strides forward, benefiting largely from its leadership in the socio-political-linguistic struggle.

Of particular interest to the Finnish-language papers in surviving the seventies were the changes in the economic and educational situation of the Finnish-speaking people that now moved into high gear. Besides increasing the circle of readers, the changing conditions also provided the beginnings of an advertising-based press, and thus strengthened the ability of newspapers to survive economically and financially. The result was that of the dozen¹ Finnish-language newspapers founded during the seventies, most have survived to the present day, only a few having succumbed to economic pressures during the remainder of the last century. But geographic and political factors also played an important role in enabling these papers to live through the turbulent decades of the century. Most of the new papers appeared in the provinces, i.e., they were founded outside the historic "civilized" centres of Åbo (Turku) and Helsingfors (Helsinki). Thus, in many cases, they provided the provinces for the first time with regular news and opinion forums. Furthermore, all these papers were highly Fennoman oriented, that is, they provided the type of pro-Finnish language-culture and politico-social news coverage and opinion forums that the growing industrial and awakening rural classes were eagerly receptive to during the remainder of the century.

1. This is a rough figure calculated from the somewhat confusing discussion of the press during the seventies on pp. 51-59 of T. Steinby, Finlands Tidningspress (Stockholm, 1963).

The 1880s. Although a relatively strong Swedish-language press existed throughout the Constitutional period it was not until the beginning of the eighties that it became strongly partisan in character. In contrast to the non-partisan attitude of the Helsingfors Dagblad, the Swedish papers in the late seventies and early eighties took a strongly pro-Swedish tack, in opposition to the ultra-Fennicism of the Fennoman Finnish papers.¹ But the Swedish-language press during the eighties was not composed wholly of Swecoman papers. Indeed, most of the Swedish papers founded in the sixties or earlier continued to regard themselves as above language politics. Apart from this, they ranged from politically conservative to politically liberal, with most in the latter group.

A phenomenon that appeared during the late eighties was the founding of Finnish-language newspapers (often by the publisher of a Swedish-language paper) to act as anti-Fennoman organs which supported the same liberal, but non-partisan language stand as their sister, Swedish-

1. The leading Swecoman paper during the eighties and the following several decades was the Nya Pressen, founded in 1882. Its editor for two significant periods was Axel Lille (1882-1900; 1906-1914). In the later period he was the champion of modern classless Swedo-Finn solidarity.

language papers. Most of these papers, however, did not survive for long and none of them is still in existence.¹

However, the late eighties also saw a split in the ranks of the Fennoman papers. In these years the first wave of Finnish-speaking and Finnish-minded educated people who had been brought up on a steady diet of Fennomanism during the previous two decades, reached adulthood. These now took exception to the contemporary leadership in the Finnicization struggle and demanded more radical action. As a result they took over several provincial organs of the Fennoman party and founded some of their own, notably Päivälehti (1889), later (1904) renamed the Helsingin Sanomat, which today is by far the largest newspaper in Finland. It is now moderate liberal in its political outlook and reflects the development of the radical Fennoman wing of the Young Fennoman party of the last century into the liberal Finnish People's Party of the twentieth century.

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1. Statistical data for the newspaper situation during the 1870s and 1880s is difficult to classify, but for the anti-Fennoman Finnish papers founded by the Swedo-Finns it is relatively simple. There were four such papers:

<u>Päivän Uutiset,</u>	1888-1889
<u>Oulun Ilmoituslehti,</u>	1887-1905
<u>Oulun Lehti,</u>	1880-1887
<u>Suomalainen Kansa,</u>	1907-1911.

The 1890s. Politically, the most notable development in the nineties was the rise of a working class party that in effect formed the first political party, in the modern sense of a party with a single organization, with a programme and exercising discipline. The Finland Workers' Party was founded in 1899, changed its name four years later to the Finland Social Democratic Party and adopted a radical Marxist party programme. The formation of the party and its programme, however, had been preceded by the founding of a working class press a few years earlier. The newspaper Työmies was established in 1895 and acted as the main press and publicity organ of the party. It was followed in 1900 by its Swedish counterpart, the Arbetaren. Several other party newspapers were also started in this period, and for the first time in Finland's press history a political party actually owned a newspaper. This has since become the order of the day, and Finland's contemporary press can be divided into three classes: the apolitical papers (which are very few and mostly small provincial papers); the independently owned papers supporting a political party to varying degrees (the majority of newspapers); and the party owned or controlled propagandist press (which are significant in both size and influence, particularly on the political left).

Of more widespread importance in the development of the press during the nineties was the rapid economic development and industrialization of the country (this, of course, was a precondition for the rise of socialist politics and its press). The most important effect that this economic development had for the press was the appearance of rotary presses and other special and independent printing facilities designed expressly for the daily press. Whereas, prior to 1898, all newspapers had used book-printers and book-printing machines, after Hufvudstadsbladet acquired the first rotary press (1896) and the first typesetting machine (1898), all papers followed suit in short order. But the technological improvements that the nineties brought were not confined to printing. The telephone, for example, introduced during the 1880s, spread in the 1890s a telecommunications (telephone and telegraph) network throughout the country that served both as a news gathering and a news dispensing organ. The latter was especially important for the provincial press. Moreover, the year 1887 saw the establishment of the first news agency, known as the Finska Notisbyrå^o, which came to play an important role in the development of the press both during the nineties and later.

As a result of both the economic and technical developments of the nineties the number of newspapers increased significantly. As a natural development from the Finnization of Finnish society during this period, a significant increase was, of course, made in the Finnish-language side of the press. Some figures illustrate this development. Whereas in 1876, 23 Finnish- and a like number of Swedish-language newspapers were published, by 1886 the former had increased to 51 while the latter had not even doubled, increasing only to 44. Ten years later the respective totals were 100 and 73 and by 1906 they had risen to 188 and 83, respectively. A comparison of the ratios of publications to population shows the fantastic increase in readership between 1876 and 1906: whereas in 1876 there was one publication to 42,000 inhabitants, by 1886 this had increased to one per 25,500, by 1896 to one per 14,500 and by 1906 to one per 10,500.¹

The Russification period, 1899-1917. The last two decades of the Constitutional period of autonomous Finland were distinguished politically by intermittent pressures of Russification imposed by the Czarist government in violation of the constitution of autonomous Finland. The reaction that this external aggression created among Finns was,

1. Steinby, op. cit., p. 66.

however, in at least one aspect positive. During these decades, for the first time in over a generation, both of the parties to the violent language struggles that had usurped an inordinate amount of the energy of the nation dropped their mutual antagonism to resist the common national enemy. This, of course, meant that the press as well became moderate in tone on language questions. It also meant that the press in general took a militant lead in the anti-Russification struggle, and suffered greatly at the hands of the censors. That the censorship that the press was subjected to during these years was very real, can be illustrated by the following figures. During the period from 1863 to 1890 censorship had been negligible as a factor in the freedom of the press, but in 1891, when the first Russification attempts were made, the censors stopped the presses 206 times; in 1892, 204 times; and in 1893, 216 times. Thereafter the incidence of censorship decreased rapidly to 146 in 1894, and to a normal level of 58 in 1895, and 50 in 1896. With the beginnings of the Years of Calamity (1899-1905), the worst years of Russification attempts, the incidence of censorship increased drastically to 375 (1899) and then stayed at comparably high levels.

But censorship during the Years of Calamity was not restricted to articles or individual issues of newspapers. During the six years 47 newspapers were suspended on 77 occasions for various lengths of time; and 15 Finnish and 10 Swedish-language newspapers were permanently closed.¹

Another development, that was presaged by the rise of the Social Democratic party press during the late nineties, swept the country just before and after the parliamentary and representational reforms of 1906.² In the first instance the new parliamentary arrangements called for the formation of modern parties, and, in the second, these parties established newspapers of their own as the surest means of spreading favourable propaganda for their programmes and policies. At the time there were three main parties -- the Old Finn, the Young Finn and the Swedish People's Party, with the Social Democrats forming a fourth and rapidly growing group. All of these had existed in loose form in the last century.

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1. Similar censorship attacks were made later and particularly during the war period (1914-1917), but though censorship was hard and created difficulties for the press the extreme measures of closing papers were not again resorted to.
 2. The Diet of Four Estates with a restricted electorate was changed to a 200 seat, single chamber Parliament, elected by a vastly expanded electorate of all adults 24 years of age or over.

Now in 1906, these were joined by a complete newcomer -- the Agrarian Party. Since it was a new party, it, more than any of the others, had need of a propaganda press and thus it spurred other parties into the founding of party-owned papers. Hence, by the time of Independence in 1917, the Finnish press, despite (and perhaps because of in certain areas) external and adverse pressures, had through the diversification of normal modern party politics taken on the structure that it has kept to the present day. The Finnish press, then, is a party-oriented press, composed of a mixture of independently owned but partisan newspapers (the majority) and party-owned, highly partisan newspapers (the minority), with a small group of apolitical papers (mostly small, local dailies or weeklies) forming the remainder. The political structure of the press also cuts through the language barrier, with all of the Swedish papers usually in the Swedish party camp, except one small paper owned by the Social Democrats (founded in 1919) and an even smaller one owned by the Communists (founded in 1945).



II. The Press of Independent Finland: The Contemporary Scene

1. Freedom of the Press and Censorship

Although the last Diet of the Four Estates (1905-1906) passed¹ Finland's first freedom of speech bill during the short-lived liberal period following the 1905 Revolution, it was not until the passing of the Constitution Act of 17.7.1919 that this freedom was finally written into the law of the land.² It is on this basic constitutional guarantee that all subsequent laws governing and regulating the activity of the press have been erected.

While the most recent law, the Act of 9.2.1951, formally guarantees freedom of information by stating the principle that public affairs must be openly conducted (thus curbing to some extent the penchant of the bureaucracy for secrecy), certain previous laws have restricted the absolute freedom of the press as guaranteed by the Constitution Act. The Act of 5.2.1926, for example, forbids the press to conduct any kind of "trial by press", and the Act of 31.7.1931 makes the propagation of "treason" or "treasonable activity" by the press a criminal offense. In addition, the Act of

1. The bill, however, was not ratified by the Senate, and thus did not become law.

2. Article 10: "Finnish citizens shall enjoy freedom of speech and the right to print and publish written or pictorial representation without interference ..."



8.5.1948 makes it a punishable offense deliberately and publicly to abuse, lampoon or libel a foreign state so as to injure Finland's relations with such a state.

Nevertheless, despite these restrictions, during normal times the press is sufficiently protected in its freedom of expression and publication. That even under extraordinary times of stress the press is not subjected to unduly harsh censorship restrictions can be shown by a brief overview of censorship and its results during these periods of stress: the civil war, the thirties, World War II, and the immediately post-war years.

During the civil war in 1918, all the Social Democratic newspapers were suspended and when this suspension was lifted shortly after the re-establishment of order, the reopened papers were subjected to various officially created difficulties. These pressures soon disappeared, however, for the Social Democratic press became "respectable" when its radical wing broke off and formed the communist party (Finland's Socialist Workers' Party). The papers of the latter party of course propagated radical and somewhat treasonable policies, so it is not surprising that several of them were suspended during the early twenties. Even so, the real persecution of the communist party did not come

until the Lappo movement in 1930, when the whole of the communist press was suspended and the party disbanded. Eight years later the extreme right wing newspapers, which had arisen during the early thirties, were in turn placed in jeopardy of suspension but were able to survive the crisis until 1944, when they were finally closed down during the Soviet-Finland armistice of that year.

In so far as pre-publication censorship is concerned, it was not until the Second World War that it was introduced into Independent Finland through the so-called "Protection of the Republic Act" of 6.10.1939. This law, which remained in force until the end of 1946, permitted the government to circumvent arbitrarily the citizens' constitutional rights in the over-all interests of national security. Thus the governmental bureaucracy was given unrestricted power to limit the freedom of the press, to change the content of publication or to forbid publication entirely. However, the more radical of these powers were very seldom used by the government, perhaps mainly because the press exercised a voluntary self-censorship. Hence only two newspapers were suspended during the whole of the war period, and of the 1.3 million articles that were checked before publication during 1941-1944 only 30,000 were censored to some degree and only 5,000 were forbidden publication altogether. Nevertheless, these figures do not tell the whole story for



the government had yet other weapons at hand: publication regulations and news management. These were made good use of by the government, particularly during the so-called Continuation War of 1941-1944, when the weight of governmental control was on the press to carry pro-governmental propaganda. Newspapers were, for example, force-fed reams of articles turned out by the departmental information bureaus.

In summing up the developments in the area of freedom and censorship of the press during the period of Independence, one must admit that though the initial laws of the Republic changed the concept of freedom of expression from a question of privilege to a question of right, the tradition of bureaucratic censorship, nevertheless remains ingrained in Finland. Though it rests under cover in normal times, in times of stress, it comes to the surface and makes itself strongly felt, not only through official action but also in the self-censorship of the press. Indeed it is suggested that the "censorship mentality", the legacy of several hundred years of censorship, is still so strongly ingrained in the psyche of the Finnish nation that even in more or less normal times, such as the late fifties and the sixties



of the present century, proposals are periodically made in the party press of Finland that certain matters (depending on the particular party's viewpoint) should be censored.

It must also be pointed out that with regard to questions concerning Finland's postwar and present neutrality the press in general imposes self-censorship.

2. Growth of the Press, 1918-1963

The period since independence in Finland has been one of unprecedented growth and prosperity for the press. As Table I shows, the total number of periodical publications (of which approximately 100 fall into the newspaper category) more than tripled between 1920 and 1963:



TABLE I

Finnish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1920-1963

Year	Total periodicals and newspapers	Total newspapers ¹	Total periodicals
1920	381	102	279
1925	493	108	385
1930	640	123	517
1935	711	109	602
1940	784	121	663
1945	676	113	563
1950	898	115	783
1955	1200	107	1093
1960	1508	99	1399
1963	1418	94	1324

However, a breakdown into the two categories of newspapers and periodicals (columns 2 and 3) shows different developments for each: whereas the newspapers, after reaching the all-time high of 123 in 1930, show a slow but steady decline from 1940 on, the periodicals, on the other hand, show a remarkable, rapid and consistent increase (except for the war years when there was a marked decline) over the forty years between 1920 and 1960. Only in the last three years has there been a small decrease in their total number.

1. Twice weeklies and weeklies are included in this column.
Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., Tables on pp. 87 and 88.

TABLE II

Finnish Newspaper Publication, 1920-1963

Year	Issues per week					Total News- ¹ papers	"Daily" Press 7, 6, 5 issues per week	4 - 3 issues per week
	7	6	5	4	3			
1920	6	31	-	4	61	102	37	65
1925	7	36	-	5	60	108	43	65
1930	10	35	1	5	72	123	46	77
1935	10	28	-	4	67	109	38	71
1940	13	36	1	5	66	121	50	71
1945	15	38	-	7	53	113	53	60
1950	16	48	1	5	45	115	65	50
1955	21	45	1	4	36	107	67	40
1960	27	37	3	1	31	99	67	32
1963	25	35	3	4	27	94	63	31

If we limit ourselves to a discussion of the data in Table II which shows newspaper publication between 1920 and 1963 for various frequencies of issues per week, we discover that even within the newspaper press itself there have been

1. Twice weeklies and weeklies are not included.
Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., table on p. 87.

two different trends. Whereas the number of "daily" papers (publishing 7, 6 or 5 issues per week) has had an over all tendency to increase, at least until 1955-60, the number of papers with 3-4 issues per week has tended to decrease, at least since 1935-40.

These diverging lines of development can be at least partially explained by a brief review of the over all developments of the news-press during the 43-year period under review. The floodgates of national aspirations that Independence released and the freedom of expression that the Constitution guaranteed reversed the trend to fewer newspapers that the combination of Russification and war-time censorship had imposed during the second decade of the century. As a result the total number of newspapers published reached an all-time high of 123 in 1930. The hunger for daily news and growing urbanization can be seen in the increase of the seven- and six-day press from 37 to 46 in that decade, and the hunger for news and/or opinion in the rural areas is indicated by the rise of the newspapers publishing three or four times a week to their high of 77 in 1930.¹ The economic depression and the internal political instability of the following decade, however, delivered a hard blow

1. The daily press (7, 6, 5 issues per week) is largely an urban based and "hard" press, whereas the three or four issues per week press is largely rural based and more of an "opinion" press.

to the press as a whole but particularly to the urban daily press which both in frequency of issues, size of issues and distribution area depended on the stability of the industrial and commercial economy of the cities. The predominantly rural-based press (three and four issues per week) was better off in this decade of crisis since its operations were more restricted and conservative, although it did not escape entirely unscathed. Thus the years of crisis from 1930 to 1935 took a toll of 14 newspapers out of the total of 123, of which eight (on a base of 46) were "dailies" and six were papers with three or four issues a week.

Economic, cultural and social expansion, however, came to Finland in the latter half of the thirties and carried through the winter war of 1939-1940. By 1940 the total number of newspapers had again risen, to 121, of which 50 were "dailies" and 71 were papers with three or four issues per week. The stability of the latter can again be explained by their size and location of operation. The increase of the former -- 32.6% on a base of 38-- shows both the increasing economic strength of the cities and the growing urbanization of Finland.

The Continuation War of 1941-1944 nearly undid the economic advances of the late thirties. However, this time the urban papers were in a stronger position to withstand the four-pronged attack of the war years. Despite the shortage of newsprint,¹ journalistic and technical manpower, and the general economic instability, as well as the stringent censorship and publication controls, the urban press because of its better and more comprehensive news-services, its location and its ability to enlist journalistic and technical personnel, was able to cater so well to the war-time demand for news that it not only increased its total circulation but also was actually able to enlarge its numbers as well. The number of rural based and/or "opinion" papers, however, declined from 71 to 60, through their inability to overcome the same difficulties that the urban press successfully countered.² Thus of the total of 121 newspapers that were published in 1940, by 1945 only 113 survived.³

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1. Newsprint was a scarce item throughout the war period and was used in the immediate post-war period to pay War Reparations to the Russians and to earn foreign currency. It was thus not derationed until 1949.
 2. The six newspapers published in Karelia had additional difficulties. Five of these moved to the remaining territory of Finland: of these four survived but with much reduced circulations.
 3. The latter figure does not give a completely correct impression for several right-wing newspapers were suspended in 1944, but were replaced by others supporting the communists.

The remaining years of the forties saw an additional decrease in the size of the rural and/or "opinion" press largely as a result of the increasing post-war urbanization of Finland, the increasing demand for daily news, which the war had fostered, and the internal and external political instability of Finland during these years. The urban "daily" press prospered and increased largely because it had the resources to meet the readership demands that the rural press could not command. In addition, at least some¹ of the former's increase in size can be attributed to the establishment of the communist press in 1945. Thus, though the newspaper picture changed considerably between 1945 and 1950, there was only an increase of two in the total number published, as the "daily" press increased by 12 (on a base of 53) and the rural and/or "opinion" press decreased by 10 (on a base of 60).

The developments during the fifties reflect the overall decrease in numbers that began in 1940, all of it attributable to the decrease in the newspapers publishing three and four issues a week. Between 1950 and 1960, these decreased by 18 (on a base of 50) largely for the three reasons of urbanization, demand for daily news, and improved communications. The slack created by the decrease of the rural and "opinion" press was more than taken up by the "daily" press which

1. At least five communist "dailies" were established in 1945.

besides wide and comprehensive "hard" news coverage also provides opinion. In addition the circulation area of the latter has been steadily encroaching on the small semi-rural and rural papers as the population served by this press has become accustomed to daily newspapers and newscoverage. Undoubtedly, television and wider coverage by other news-media, such as radio and films, have also stimulated a greater interest in news in the semi-rural and rural areas. Thus while the total number of newspapers declined from 115 to 99 between 1950 and 1960, the decrease was wholly within the rural press. At the same time the urban "daily" press increased by two, from a base of 65.

Between 1960 and 1963 there was a further decrease of one in the rural press, which was to be expected. But the same three years also show a decrease of four in the urban "daily" press. This decline, the first since 1940, may perhaps be heralding a new era in the Finnish press, an era that the North American press entered some time ago, where an ever-declining number of increasingly large papers force competitors out of existence. That this is about to take place in Finland, however, cannot be projected on as narrow a base as the three-year period, 1960-1963, particularly if we remember that there is only one city of over 400,000 in Finland, none between 200,000 and 400,000 and only two

between 100,000 and 200,000. Nevertheless, Helsinki had ten "dailies" in 1963 of which only one approached a circulation of 300,000, and four others competed in the 50,000 - 100,000 range.

The data in Table III also show that the overwhelming weight of circulation per issue rests with the "dailies".

TABLE III

Finnish Newspaper Circulation per Issue in 1962

Total Newspapers	Issues per Week	Circulation per Issue
25	7	1,184,000
35	6	465,000
3	5	16,000
4	4	17,000
27	3	310,000
Total 94		1,992,000 copies
Total "Daily" Press 63		Total "Daily" circulation 1,665,000
Total Remainder 31		Total Remainder circulation 327,000

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 92.

The total for the latter was 1,665,000 in 1962 whereas the three and four times a week papers of the rural press had a total circulation of merely 327,000. Thus 83.6% of the total circulation of 94 newspapers in 1962 was covered by the "daily" press. But even more interesting is the fact that most of this was even further concentrated in the hands of the 25 newspapers publishing seven issues per week. These papers controlled 71.1% of the circulation of all dailies. Further, they controlled 59.4% of all circulation.

The overall growth of the press, that the growth and decline in the total number of newspaper in Table I indicate, is better illustrated by circulation figures. As Table IV¹

TABLE IV

Total Newspaper Circulation as Distributed by the Post Office, 1905-1960

Year	Circulation in millions
1905	20.5
1910	56.6
1920	123.9
1924	120.8
1956	542.7
1960	577.7

Compiled from figures given in T. Steinby, op. cit., pp. 90-91. Figures are taken from the Post and Telegraph Authority's delivery statistics. Private deliveries (which only became significant in the late fifties) are not included.

1. Table IV gives the number of all newspapers in Finland, including twice weeklies and weeklies, as distributed by the Post Office.

shows circulation rose rapidly between 1905 and 1920, despite oppression and war, and then declined slightly during the next four years. Since 1924, however, the increase in circulation has been steady in spite of -- or perhaps because of -- numerous crises and two wars. By 1956 circulation reached 542.7 million copies and in the next four years rose by a steep 35 million, to 577.7 million.

Comparing newspaper consumption in the five Nordic Council countries, we discover that in 1958 the consumption

TABLE V

Newspaper Consumption in the Nordic Council Countries in 1958 by Weight per Inhabitant

Country	Consumption per inhabitant in kilograms
Finland	15.0
Sweden	23.7
Denmark	15.7
Norway	12.7
Iceland	8.3

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 91, citing UNESCO figures.

of newspapers by weight per inhabitant in Finland compared closely with the consumption in Denmark. Consumption in both was ahead of Norway and almost double that of Iceland, though they were also both far behind Sweden (see Table V).¹

3. Political Orientation of the Press

(a) General political influence of the press

As we have indicated earlier the press of Independent Finland is almost completely a partisan press. The large majority of newspapers are either independently-owned papers supporting a particular party or papers owned by a particular party. By and large only the smaller rural papers are completely apolitical in their editorial stand. Before describing in detail the political configuration of the press, a brief attempt at measuring its actual political influence would give us an overview of the relative political importance of the various partisan sectors of the press.

1. Note also that in 1957 consumption per inhabitant in Finland reached 18.1 kg.

TABLE VI

Party Press Circulation Compared to Votes Cast
for Political Parties in the General Election of 1962

Party "Affiliation"	No. of papers	Copies per issue in thousands	Votes cast in 1962 general election in thousands
National Union (Cons.)	13	390	347
Finnish People's (Lib.)	(2)	-	146
Finnish Radical Liberals (Lib-Dem.)	-	-	14
Swedish People's Agrarian	12	149	148
Small Peasant	-	-	51
Social Democrat	11	116	449
Social Dem. Opposition	1	23	100
SKDL (Communists)	7	119	507
Others	-	-	12
Apolitical	36	875	-
Totals	94	1992	2302

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 101.

TABLE VII

Party and Apolitical Press: Comparison by
Numbers and by Circulation

	No. of papers	Copies per issue in thousands
Total political press	58	1117
Total apolitical press	36	875
	94	1992

Compiled from Table VI.

Although the conclusions that can be drawn from the data in Tables VI and VII can only be of a general nature, Table VII nevertheless shows that almost two thirds (61.7%) of the 94 papers publishing in 1962¹ belonged in the category of the politically affiliated press. The 58 papers in this category had a combined circulation of 1,117,000 copies per issue, or 56.1% of the total circulation of 1,992,000 of all the 94 papers.

Table VI shows a perfect correlation between the total circulation of the 12 papers supporting the Swedish People's

1. These are the same 94 newspapers discussed earlier, and include only papers publishing 3 times a week or more often. Twice weeklies and weeklies are thus not included.

Party and the total votes garnered by the party in the general election of 1962. For the National Union Party a similar comparison also shows an almost direct proportion of circulation to votes. In direct contrast to these two parties the Social Democrats and the Communists show a strong disproportion between circulation of the partisan press and the parties' ability to win votes: for neither of the latter two did the circulation figures of their respective presses reach more than approximately a quarter of the total votes cast. The disproportion between circulation figures and voting figures, though less than in the case of the socialists and communists, is also marked in the case of the Agrarian Party. But the disproportion is even greater in the case of the Finnish People's Party, which had no committed newspaper support at all. However, it had "uncommitted" support from a sizeable part of the "apolitical" press in the elections. A similar support is also provided the National Union Party by several formally "apolitical" newspapers. Other parties receive scarcely any support at all from the "apolitical" press.

In general, then, the Finnish-language bourgeois parties can count on wide press support, both from among their committed papers as well as from the "apolitical" press. In

contrast the parties of the left -- the Social Democrats and the SKDL -- and the Agrarians are to a marked degree under-represented when the circulation of their supporting press is compared to their electoral support. It appears, however, that this shortcoming is compensated by the far stronger propagandistic and partisan tone of their committed press than the bourgeois parties can count on in their press.

In this connection it is also useful to remember that the whole development of the Finnish press had led away from a purely partisan orientation. Indeed, while most of the present dailies were founded as partisan organs, today their orientation is more towards the "hard-news" type of organ, and factors of business enterprise play a significant role. The news organs of the left, on the other hand, are generally still owned by the parties, and because they are thus financially dependent on them they exhibit a very strong partisan orientation.

b) Political configuration of the press, 1918-1963¹

The first party political alignment took place soon after the Civil War of 1918 when both the Old Finn and the

1. Included in this review are 130 newspapers. Whereas the preceding discussion in this chapter has been limited to papers publishing three times a week or more, the present review includes twice-weeklies and weeklies, or in other words, all publications that can be called newspapers in so far as their primary concern is to present "hard" news of some type. Papers that are primarily opinion journals have been excluded.

Young Finn parties split on the question of the form of government. The monarchists in both parties joined together to form the National Union Party (Kansallinen Keskustapuolue), while the republicans formed the National Progressive Party (Kansallinen Edistyspuolue). After the resolution of this question, these parties came to represent respectively the conservative and liberal lines of social and political thinking in Finland.

Since at the time of the political reorganization of the Old Finn and the Young Finn parties, the Agrarian Party was also making progress, particularly in the area of the rural press, the smaller organs of the former two parties in many cases decided to merge so as to be able to survive the onslaught of the Agrarians. At the same time a number of the older and larger provincial papers joined the liberals. By and large, however, most of both the merged papers and the larger, previously pro-Old or Young Finn papers decided to support the liberals. The conservatives founded a number of papers to take the place of those lost but all of these have since disappeared.

The Conservative Press. When the National Union Party was founded, the Uusi Suometar (renamed Uusi Suomi in 1919) became its leading organ and has remained such to the present.

Today this paper has the second largest circulation figure in Finland. It is not, however, owned by the party but rather by a limited share company whose stock was originally widely divided so as to prevent any one faction or group from gaining control.

Besides the Uusi Suomi, there were in 1963 twelve other papers who were committed supporters of the National Union Party.

TABLE VIII
The Conservative Press

Year founded	Paper	Place of Publication	Circulation per issue	Issues per week
1869	Uusi Suomi	Helsinki	91,800	7
1882	Aamulehti	Tampere	89,400	7
1903	Vaasa	Vaasa	49,700	7
1873	Satakunnan Kansa	Pori	43,900	7
1874	Karjalainen	Joensuu	37,700	7
1879	Savo	Kuopio	15,500	7
1880	Uusi Aura	Turku	12,500	7
1905	Lahti	Lahtis	6,500	7
1903	Etelä-Suomi	Kotka	15,400	6
1905	Länsi-Suomi	Raumo	9,800	6
1876	Savonmaa	Nyslott	8,400	6
1924	Keski-Suomen			
	Iltaalehti	Jyväskylä	8,500	6
1923	Kajaani	Kajana	800	3

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 113.

The total circulation of these thirteen papers exceeded 390,000, and all except one published six or seven issues per week. Most of these papers belong to a federation of conservative papers called Oikeistolehti (Right wing papers).

In addition to the 13 papers listed in Table VIII, several uncommitted "apolitical" papers with a circulation of approximately 80,000 copies per issue also lend support to the National Union Party.¹

The Liberal Press. The Progressive (or Liberal) Party began life with the support of several leading newspapers, the Helsingin Sanomat being the largest, but since the party was never able to gain a firm foothold even among the bourgeoisie its political importance soon declined. The withdrawal by a number of newspapers that had supported the party at its inception can be taken as an indicator of the party's decline.²

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- L. There are nine papers in this group, those which are considered relatively important urban papers. The Kauppalehti in Helsinki, the Hämeen Sanomat in Hämeenlinna and the Riihimäen Sanomat in Riihimäki; plus half a dozen smaller, so-called provincial newspapers.
 2. The party ceased to exist in its original form in 1951 when a new party, the Suomen Kansanpuolue (Finnish People's Party) was founded. The S.K. continued to propagate the liberalism of the old Progressive Party, but it has added a Finnish nationalistic appeal and attempted to cater more directly to the interests of the bourgeoisie. In 1965 the Liberal Union merged with the S.K. to form the Liberal People's Party (Liberallinen Kansanpuolue).

Today no paper has actually committed itself to support the Finnish People's Party. There is, however, a relatively large and important group of papers that can be called "liberal", and these usually support ideas and policies consistent with the overall programme of the Finnish People's Party, thus offering the party a strong yet indirect support.

TABLE IX
The Liberal Press

Founded	Name	Place of Publication	Circulation	Issues per week
1889	Helsingin Sanomat	Helsinki	260,600	7
1905	Turun Sanomat	Turku	75,900	7
1899	Kaleva	Oulu	43,400	7
1914	Etelä-Suomen Sanomat	Lahtis	36,100	7
1932	Ilta-Sanomat	Helsinki	62,100	6
1889	Länsi-Savo	Mikkeli	16,700	6

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 115.

This group of papers is composed of five large daily morning papers and one afternoon paper, all of which are leading papers in their areas of circulation. Among them is the largest paper in Finland, the Helsingin Sanomat, with a

circulation over two and half times larger than its closest competitor. The total circulation of this group approaches a half a million copies per issue: in 1963 it reached a circulation of 495,000.

The Agrarian Press. As mentioned earlier, the Agrarian Party made great progress in the countryside during the twenties, and part of its success can be credited directly to its use of the press. In this offensive the Agrarians relied only partly on their existing press and on founding new papers. Instead, their greatest gains were recorded as a result of their ability to enlist former Young Fennoman newspapers in the rural areas to their cause. In their first flush of success the Agrarians even attempted to set up party organs in several cities but only one of these has survived to the present. This paper,¹ however, severed its connection with the party in 1958 and declared itself apolitical. Thus, the Agrarian press has been rurally based from the first and even now is completely rural in character and readership.² Its strength lies particularly in the northern and eastern parts of the country.

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1. Lapin Kansa, established in 1928 in Rovaniemi, Lappland.
 2. The party is, however, attempting to become more of an urban party as the rural population declines. The party's use lately of the name, Centre Party, may be taken as an indication of this.

TABLE X
The Agrarian Press

Founded	Name	Place of Publication	Circulation	Issues per week
1907	Savon Sanomat	Kuopio	55,200	7
1871	Keskisuomalainen	Jyväskylä	49,300	7
1906	Ilkka	Seinäjoki	27,500	7
1885	Etelä-Saimaa	Villmanstrand	24,900	7
1917	Keskipohjanmaa	Gamlakarleby	18,800	7
1906	Liitto	Oulu	15,800	7
1908	Maakansa	Helsinki	32,700	6
1915	Pohjolan Sanomat	Kemi	20,400	6
1918	Kainuun Sanomat	Kajana	18,300	6
1917	Lalli	Kumo	13,500	6
1918	Karjalan Maa	Joensuu	12,800	6
1925	Iisalmen Sanomat	Idensalmi	10,500	6
1907	Itä-Savo	Nyslott	10,500	6
1916	Kymen Sanomat	Fredrikshamn	10,400	6

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 117.

Today the party is supported by 14 party-committed newspapers. The Agrarian press is more intimately bound to the party and is a much more conscientious supporter of party policy than are the bourgeois papers. In total, the circulation of this press reaches approximately 320,000 copies per issue.

The Swedish Bourgeois Press. Both the Swedish People's Party and the Swedish language press, which consisted entirely of papers that either have declared their support for the party or supported it tacitly, were unaffected by the political crises of the twenties and thirties, except that a small weekly Swedish-language newspaper supporting the Social Democrats was founded in 1919. When, however, the Porkkala area was leased to the Soviet Union in 1944 one of the larger local organs, Nyland, published in Helsinki but confined in circulation largely to the Porkkala and the semi-rural areas surrounding the capital, lost a significant part of its circulation and was forced to suspend publication a few years later.

TABLE XI
Swedish Bourgeois Press

Founded	Name	Place of Publication	Circulation	Issues per week
1864	Hufvudstadsbladet	Helsingfors	68,800	7
1824	Åbo Underrät- telser	Åbo	7,000	7
1839	Vasabladet	Vasa	19,200	6
1881	Västra Nyland	Ekenas	12,100	6
1882	Nya Pressen	Helsingfors	10,100	6
1898	Jakobstads Tidning	Jakobstad	8,200	6
1898	" Osterbottningen	Gamlakarleby	4,500	6
1861	Borgåbladet	Borgå	8,800	3
1891	Åland	Mariehamn	7,000	3
1881	*(Ostra Nyland *(Kotka Nyheter	Lovisa	4,500	3
1897	" Syd-Osterbotten	Kristinestad	4,000	3
1890	Hango	Hango	3,000	3
1914	*(Kaskö Tidning *(Närpes Tidning *(Overmarks Tidning	Kasko	4,000	2
1860	Björneborgs Tidning	Björneborg	1,000	2
1882	Tammerfors Aftonblad	Tammerfors	1,000	2
1883	Österbottniska Posten	Nykarleby	2,000	1

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 116.

* Split runs.

Although the Swedish-language newspapers listed in Table XI are usually regarded as organs of the SFP (Swedish People's Party), in actual fact none are direct party organs. Each of them pushes a particular political point of view, yet in the overall consideration all views find room in the wide political spectrum that the SFP covers. In addition to the "undeclared" supporters of the SFP, four papers are "declared apolitical" or independent, yet all four -- Hufvudstadsbladet, Nya Pressen (which is the afternoon sister of the former), Syd-Österbotten and Åland -- in general can be counted among the consistent supporters of the SFP.

The Swedish bourgeois press numbers 16 papers, of which the seven "dailies" account for 123,000 copies per issue out of a total circulation of 158,000. The rest, as Table XI shows, are mostly twice or thrice weeklies. Hufvudstadsbladet, founded in 1864 through editorial reorganization and the establishment of a new national edition in the 1920s, has always been the national Swedo-Finn newspaper. In addition, in its 1963 circulation it was the third largest newspaper in Helsinki and the fourth largest in the whole country.

The Social Democratic Press. The Social Democratic party, which had been discredited by its radical wing in the Civil War, soon reorganized itself. Its newspapers which had been suspended by the government during the Civil War were permitted to publish soon thereafter. The Social Democratic press that began publication in the twenties, however, had its former left-wing comrades (now openly communists) to contend with. Many of their former newspapers were taken over by communists, some after a severe struggle. Hence the Social Democratic press that re-opened in the twenties was much reduced in size. It was, however, able to partake successfully of the general newspaper revival of the later twenties and to found a number of new organs, many of which have survived to the present.

TABLE XII
Social Democratic Papers

Founded	Name	Place of Publication	Circulation	Issues per week
1895	Suomen Sosiali- demokraatti	Helsinki	35,600	7
1899	Kansan Lehti	Tampere	15,600	7
1906	Vapaus	Mikkeli	8,000	6
1906	Uusi Aika	Pori	9,500	6
1905	Eteenpain	Kotka	7,100	6
1906	Hämeen Kansa	Hämeenlinna	7,500	6
1899	Turun Päivälehti	Turku	5,500	6
1905	Kansan Työ	Villmanstrand	5,000	6
1924	Pohjolan Työ	Oulu	2,000	3
1931	Pohjanmaan Kansa	Vaasa	7,000	3
1906	Kansan Voima	Joensuu	6,500	3
1919	Svenska Demokraten	Helsinki	2,500	2

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 119.

The Social Democratic party receives even more consistent support from its press than does the Agrarian Party, since different organs of the former directly control¹ various newspapers in the party fold. In 1963 the Social Democratic

1. "Control" here means both varying degrees of ownership and editorial direction.

press consisted of 11 Finnish-language and one Swedish-language newspaper, the Svenska Demokraten. Eight of these were papers publishing seven or six issues a week and had a combined circulation of 93,000 copies per issue out of a total circulation of 118,000. The weight of the Social Democratic press is in the cities of the southwest, where there is a Social Democratic paper in each city. In addition there is a Social Democratic paper in the six major coastal cities of Finland and in the one large inland industrial centre, Tampere.

A small number of "apolitical" papers in the provinces, such as the Uusimaan Kunnalislehti, published in Lojo, could also be added to the papers listed in Table XII as coming to some degree under the influence of the party.

The Communist Press. The communist party, known as the Suomen Sosialistisen Työväenpuolue (Finnish Socialist Workers' Party), in addition to the papers it had wrested from the Social Democrats, also founded a number of new papers during the 1920s. Its leading organ was the Työväenjärjestön Tiedonantaja, founded in 1923. When the communist party was declared illegal in 1930 and its press suppressed, a series of clandestine publications, produced in the Soviet Union or Sweden, kept the underground apparatus supplied with propaganda. These publications, however, had a very small circulation -- approximately 15,000 per month -- and played little part in the newspaper field since they were propaganda-oriented rather than news-oriented.

The Communist Party was rehabilitated in 1945 and its press again entered the legitimate newspaper field. At the beginning, about 20 newspapers were founded by the party in expectation of wide public support, but the degree of support envisaged did not materialize and most of the papers had to suspend publication. By 1963 only seven of the original papers had survived. These are all owned in toto by the Democratic Federation of Finland's People (the SKDL) and the Communist Party. Four of them publish seven or six times a week and have a circulation of 98,000 copies per issue, out of a total circulation of 121,000.

TABLE XIII

The Communist Press

Founded	Name	Place of Publication	Circulation	Issues per week
1957	Kansan Uutiset	Helsinki	58,500	7
1945	Kansan Tahto	Oulu	23,400	6
1945	Hämeen Yhteistyö	Tampere	10,300	6
1945	Uusi Päivä	Turku	5,500	6
1945	Kansan Sana	Kuopio	7,000	5
1946	Satakunnan Työ	Pori	10,300	3
1946	Kansan Ääni	Vaasa	4,000	3
1945	Folktidningen Ny Tid	Helsinki	2,000	2

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 121.

Only one of the seven papers is published in Swedish, the Folktidningen Ny Tid, a weekly with a circulation of 2,000. One of the daily papers, the Kansan Uutiset, published in Helsinki, ranks seventh in total circulation in Finland and is the fifth largest daily in Helsinki. This paper is relatively new, being founded in 1957 through the merger of a left-wing Social Democratic paper, the Vapaa Sana, and the communist Työkansan Sanomat. Kansan Uutiset reflects the new direction of "co-operative socialism with communism" that the communists have propagated since the war, through the founding of the SKDL (Suomen Kansan Demokraattinen Liitto, or the Finnish People's Democratic Union), which was originally made up of a number of left-wing Social Democratic groups, labour groups and the Communist Party. Today, however, the SKDL is purely a communist party, for groups that refused complete subordination to the communist ideals left the Union. The overall policy of the SKDL, nevertheless, has not changed and Kansan Uutiset, both in its manner of formation and its editorial policy, reflects the SKDL's political aspirations and views.

The communist press competes directly with the Social Democratic press in all the major coastal cities (except for Kotka where there is no communist paper) and the inland city of Tampere. Except for Tampere, there is only one other inland city, Kuopio, that has a communist paper.

Presses of Other Parties. Political views and beliefs are often strongly held in Finland, and when some faction or other of an existing political party quarrels with the main body, then the result is very frequently the founding of a new party. Most of these parties have a short and ephemeral existence and so have the newspapers that they establish.

During the thirties, at the time of the suppression of communism and the rise of nationalism in Finland, a radical right-wing movement known as the IKL (Isänmaallinen Kansan-Liito, Patriotic People's Movement) formed its own press and political party. As indicated above¹ the movement's press was hampered by the censorship regulations of the government throughout its existence but was able to survive until 1944 when it was suppressed in the interests of the Soviet-Finnish armistice. Neither its circulation nor its direct influence was large during its period of existence but it nevertheless provided an important focus and a significant popular forum for the nationalist ideas of the thirties.

1. Cf. section on Freedom of the Press and Censorship, supra, pp. E222-E226.

One of these "faction" parties, the Small Peasants' Party, survived for a relatively long period (1929-1951), during which time it successfully published two newspapers. It has a successor in the Small Farmers' Party, which was founded in 1959 as a result of a split in the Agrarian Party. The party founded its own weekly paper, the Suomen Uutiset, in 1962, and in 1963 published a split run issue in Helsinki and Porvoo, with a respectable total circulation of 23,000 copies per issue.

Formally the Social Democratic Opposition, established in 1957, has no newspaper of its own, but it is supported wholeheartedly and consistently by the Päivän Sanomat, a daily paper published in Helsinki, that was founded in 1957 by the Federation of Professional People's Unions and the Workers' Athletic Federation. In 1963 its daily circulation stood at 23,000 copies.

The "Apolitical" or Politically Uncommitted Press

As indicated above, the apolitical press is not really apolitical but consists mere of those newspapers that have declared themselves non-partisan in political views. Most of these, however, tend to support one or other of the parties fairly consistently at least in overall political

principles, if not in policies. On this point, then, these papers can be compared to Toronto's Globe and Mail, which lists itself as politically independent but tends to support what it regards as the principles of the Conservative Party in Canada.

But there are also papers in this group that are really and truly apolitical or neutral in political matters. The latter are mostly larger,¹ business-oriented papers in industrial centres or small local papers that interest themselves in local politics and affairs but leave the national issues and politics to others.

Table XIV shows that only eight of the 29 papers in this group are "dailies", and that the majority (15) are thrice-weeklies. The total circulation of the group is relatively small though it approaches 216,000 copies per issue.

None of the papers in this group publishes in Swedish.

1. Any paper publishing 6 or 7 times a week or having a circulation in excess of 10,000 is "large" in Finland.

TABLEAU XIV

The Apolitical Press

Founded	Name	Place of Publication	Circulation	Issues per week
1909	Kouvola Sanomat	Kouvola	18,200	7
1918	Forssan Lehti	Forssa	10,100	6
1879	Hämeen Sanomat	Hämeenlinna	18,800	6
1898	Kauppalehti	Helsinki	13,200	6
1928	Lapin Kansa	Rovaniemi	16,700	6
1919	Salon Seudun Sanomat	Salo	13,000	6
1919	Warkauden Lehti	Varkaus	8,700	6
1927	Ylä-Vuoksi	Imatra	10,500	6
1894	*(Uusimaa	Porvoo	5,000	5
	*(Järvenpään Seutu			
1922	Valkeakosken Sanomat	Valkeakoski	4,000	5
1929	Etelä-Pohjanmaa	Seinäjoki	3,000	4
1926	Kalajokilaakso	Ylivieska	5,000	4
1932	Kymen Keskilaakso	Inkeroinen	4,000	4
1930	Uudenmaan Sanomat	Porvoo	5,000	5
1925	Hyvinkään Sanomat	Hyvinge	6,700	3
1927	Itä-Häme	Heinola	9,200	3
1918	Keski-Uusimaa	Kervo	7,700	3
1930	Koillis-Häme	Jämsä	8,900	3
1950	Koillissanomat	Kuusamo	4,000	3
1960	Kuusankosken Sanomat	Kuusankoski	4,000	3
1916	Loviisan Sanomat	Loviisa	3,000	3
1953	Luoteis-Uusimaa	Vichtis	4,000	3
1914	Länsi-Uusimaa	Lojo	7,300	3
1929	Nurmeksen Sanomat	Nurmes	4,500	3
1925	*(Pieksämäen Lehti	Pieksämäki	3,500	3
	*(Pieksämäen Sanomat)			
1919	Raahen Seutu	Brahestad	4,000	3
1914	Riihimäen Sanomat	Riihimäki	7,300	3
1897	Salmatar	Idensalmi	1,000	3
1891	Uudenkaupungin Sanomat	Uusikaupunki	5,500	3

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., pp. 122-123.

* Split runs.

"Local" and Special Papers¹

In addition to the newspapers listed above, which all have some "political" influence whether they list themselves as party supporters or not, there are two groups that are completely removed from the political arena. One of the groups is generally known as the Local Press and is composed of papers published in rural areas with circulation within the commune only. Originally in 1945, the papers in the group joined together in a federation called the Parish Papers' Federation which in 1962 changed its name to the Local Papers' Federation (Paikallislehtien Liitto).

In 1963 the Federation was composed of 114 papers of which only two were Swedish in language. Both of these and 91 of the Finnish papers published weekly. Only 21 of the total published twice weekly.² However, because of the favourable reception given to the twice-weeklies several of the weeklies were planning, in 1963, to enter the twice-weekly group.³

The category of Special Papers⁴ is composed of nine papers that were clearly newspapers and not periodicals yet

1. See Tables XV and XVI.

2. These are listed in Table XV.

3. T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 125.

4. See list in Table XVI.

would fit into none of the categories listed above. As Table XVI shows there are four Swedish-language papers in the group: a church weekly, a farming and fishing weekly, another farming weekly and a sports weekly. The Finnish-language papers in the group consist of a Karelian "volk" paper, a farming thrice-weekly, another farming twice-weekly, and a sports twice-weekly. In addition to the above there is the bilingual, though predominantly Finnish, official weekly gazette, Virallinen Lehti-Officiella Tidningen.

TABLE XV

The Local Press

Founded	Name	Place of Publication	Circulation
1953	Hyvinkään Uutiset	Hyvinge	5,300
1939	Kankaanpään Uutiset	Kankaanpää	3,000
1962	Karkkilan Tienoo	Karkkila	2,300
1957	Koillis-Lappi	Kemijärvi	5,400
1926	Kuorevesi-Mänttä-Vilppula	Mänttä	5,400
1928	Kurikan ja Jalasjärven Kunnallis-lehti	Kurikka	6,200
1954	Lieksan Lehti	Liekka	2,300
1915	Loimaan Lehti	Loimaa	9,100
1913	Nokian Uutiset	Nokia	4,000
1951	Pitäjänsanomat	Orimattila	4,200
1957	Sisä-Suomen Lehti	Mänekoski	3,400
1925	Somero	Somero	4,800
1961	Nurmijärven Sanomat	Nurmijärvi	2,500
1921	Suupohjan Sanomat	Kristinestad	3,500
1949	Suur-Keuruun Sanomat	Keuruu	5,000
1917	Toijalan Seutu	Toijala	4,000
1894	Tyrvään Sanomat	Vammala	7,900
1931	Uusmaan Kunnallis-lehti	Lojo	4,000
1957	Uutis-Valjakko	Turku	6,900
1949	Vakka-Suomen Sanomat	Uusikaupunki	6,400
1954	Viiskunta	Alavo	4,600

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 125.

TABLE XVI

The Special Papers

Founded	Name	Place of Publication	Circulation	Issues per week
1904	Karjala	Villmanstrand	23,400	1
1916	Maaseudun Tulevaisuus	Helsinki	163,900	3
1934	Lantmannabladet med Fiskarbladet	Helsinki	14,600	1
1946	Landsbygdens Folk	Helsinki	16,000	1
1906	Kotimaa	Helsinki	62,200	2
1922	Församlingsbladet	Helsinki	6,000	1
1898	Suomen Urheilulehti	Helsinki	17,000	2
1946	Sport-Pressen	Helsinki	3,000	1
1820	Virallinen Lehti-Officiella Tidningen	Helsinki	2,500	1

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 126.

4. Economic Organization of the Press

Morning/Afternoon "Competition". The daily press in Finland is almost exclusively composed of morning papers in contrast to the press in the other Scandinavian countries where the afternoon papers play a role almost comparable to that of the North American afternoon papers. As a matter of fact, there were in 1963 only five afternoon papers, and only one of these could be

included in "large" paper class. Ilta-Sanomat in Helsinki has a circulation of approximately 62,000, compared to circulations between 1,000 and 13,000 for the four others in this group.

Three of the five are sister-papers of the three largest morning papers in Helsinki: Hufvudstadsbladet has as its afternoon sister-paper, the Nya Pressen, the Uusi Suomi has the Kauppaliehti, and the Helsingin Sanomat has the Ilta-Sanomat. The other two papers in this group are the Tammerfors Aftonblad, published in Tampere and the Keski-Suomen Iltalehti, published in Jyv skyl . It should also be noted that two of the five papers, the Nya Pressen and the Tammerfors Aftonblad are Swedish.

The reason for the present dearth of afternoon papers and the quick attrition of others that were started during the past eighty years appears to lie in two factors: the relatively late urbanization of Finland, and the conservative habits of the newspaper readership. The small size of the three afternoon papers in Helsinki well illustrates the latter factor in this case. Furthermore, the pitiful size of the twice-weekly in Tampere (circulation, 1,000) and the comparative smallness of the paper in Jyv skyl ¹ (circulation, 8,500) where the only other paper,

1. Both Tampere (the largest inland industrial centre) and Jyv skyl  (a centre of higher education) are among the fastest growing urban areas in Finland.

the morning Keskisuomalainen sells 49,000 copies daily, tend to indicate that both late urbanization and conservatism are negative factors in the growth of the afternoon press.

Technical conditions. The modernization of the technical side of newspaper publishing that began around the turn of the century brought about an appreciation of modern technology and led to further periodic modernization. Thus, for example, the thirties saw a complete revamping of the technical installations of the press. By 1955 these had again become dated and the modernization that has been taking place since has been described as "almost hectic".¹ In fact, today modernization in the press has proceeded so far that even relatively small provincial papers use not only modern rotary presses and composing machines but also teleprinters and telephoto installations.

Advertising. The economic growth that the press industry has enjoyed since the beginning of the fifties is to a large extent directly due to the increase in advertising. In 1949 arrangements were made to formalize contacts between publishers and advertising agencies and these have helped greatly in facilitating the orderly growth of advertising revenue.

1. T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 105.

In 1962 there were 33 advertising agencies of a national character, in addition to four small local agencies. One of the agencies in the former group is owned by a consortium of newspapers and thus has an inside track in newspaper advertising.

The first thorough study of advertising in Finland was undertaken in 1953. It was followed in 1960 by an even more detailed investigation conducted by the Sales and Advertising Association of Finland. Comparative figures taken from the two studies indicate the remarkable growth of advertising between the two dates: whereas 3,700 million Finnmarks, (representing between 0.6% and 1.0% of the GNP) were spent on advertising in 1953, by 1963 the expenditure had risen to 18,316 million Finnmarks (representing between 1.6% and 2.2% of GNP).¹ Press (including all newspapers and periodicals) advertising increased between the two dates from 2,255 million Fmk to 11,407 million Fmk, or from 35.8% to 45.4% of total advertising. In comparative terms this means that by 1960 the proportion of advertising expenditure spent on the press compared favourably with similar figures for the United States (45.2%), Great Britain (47.5%) and Switzerland (45.0%).

1. These figures include all advertising (radio, press periodicals, TV, etc.) except for display window and other similar retail shop advertising.

Distribution and Subscriptions. The circulation of the Finnish press is firmly based on sales by subscription. In contrast to Sweden or North America subscription sales account for approximately 90% of all sales.¹ Distribution of subscription circulation is handled by the postal system. Newsstand sales are handled by the Railway Bookstores (Rautakirja).

Conclusions. The preceding brief overview of the economic character of the Finnish press indicates that it is a flourishing industry, comparable in some aspects, such as technology and advertising, to other western European and North American presses. In certain other aspects, however, it differs markedly from the latter; for example, whereas the North American press is heavily an afternoon press² and the western European press has a significant afternoon press, the Finnish press is almost exclusively a morning press. A marked difference also exists in the manner of circulation: whereas the North American press depends heavily on newsstand-sales, and whereas in the western European press the newsstand-sales, though not up to American levels, are significant, the Finnish press depends almost wholly on subscription sales.

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1. The subscription circulation of the Globe and Mail is "well over half" of the total circulation.
 2. In 1965 of the 112 Canadian "dailies" (6 or 7 issues a week) 91 were afternoon papers, and of the 1,775 American dailies 1,452 were afternoon papers. International Yearbook 1965 (Editor and Publisher, New York, 1965).

5. Press Organizations and the Education of Journalists

As we have indicated in various parts of our discussion of the make-up of the political press in 1963, there are a number of newspaper associations. The most important of the press organizations, however, is the Tidningarnas Förbund (Federation of Newspapers), founded in 1916, which includes the majority of the nation's newspapers.

The most important of the journalists' and reporters' organizations is the Finland Journalistförbund (Federation of Journalists in Finland), founded in 1921. In addition there are a number of party-oriented journalists' associations. The Swedish-speaking journalists have their own organization, the Finlands Svenska Publicistförbund, (Swedish Publicists' Federation of Finland).

This organization, founded in 1907, is completely apolitical and welcomes all Swedish-speaking journalists regardless of party affiliation. The Federation is an independent organization and is not affiliated with any other organization.

The formal education of journalists is a new notion in Finland, and is still under discussion. However, at a non-degree level instruction has been given in journalism for some time now at the Finnish-language Yhteiskunnallinen

Korkeakoulu at Tampere, and more recently it has also been instituted at the Swedish-language Svenska Medborgarhögskolan at Helsinki. A lectureship in journalism, founded in 1963 in the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Helsinki, is the first attempt to raise the teaching of journalism to the degree level.

B. PRESS AGENCIES

S.T.T. The Finnish press is served by a number of news agencies both indigenous and international. The most important of these from the point of view of national coverage, however, is the national news agency, Suomen Tietotoimisto¹ or STT (Finnish news bureau). The STT provides Finnish-language telex and telephone news service to 65 Finnish-language newspapers with a total circulation of 1,730,000 and similar Swedish-language service to 10 Swedish-language newspapers with a total circulation of 143,000 copies per issue. In addition the STT also provides news service for the state radio and television.

Administratively the STT is divided into three functional departments: the national department, the foreign department and the Swedish-language department. The national department, in charge of national news gathering and distribution, performs its duties mainly in Finnish. The foreign department, in charge of gathering foreign news²

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1. The Swedish name of the bureau is Finska Notisbyrån. The bureau is a joint stock company owned by its member newspapers and its full company name is bilingual, Osakeyhtiö Suomen Tietotoimisto-Finska Notisbyrån Aktiebolag.
 2. In addition to telephone and postal contacts with the different national news bureaus of Europe, the STT also subscribes to regular teletype service from the international agencies of Reuters, Agence France-Presse (AFP) and the Soviet TASS-APN.

and distributing them simultaneously to both Finnish-language and Swedish-language papers, is bilingual. The Swedish-language department, on the other hand, is solely unilingual and serves only the ten Swedish-language newspapers. The so-called "Scandesk" which is in charge of inter-Scandinavian news connections, is also attached to this department.

Although most of the news is gathered by the Finnish-language national department, the news transmitted to both Finnish and Swedish subscribers is largely the same. This means, of course, that most news must be translated into Swedish before transmission, and, therefore, that the editorial staff of the Swedish-language department (which is mainly a translation bureau) cannot be much smaller than that of the Finnish side. In fact, of the 39 editorial members of the STT, 23 use Finnish and 13 Swedish in their job functions. Only three are bilingual and these are the radio and telephone editors who transmit news in both languages.

Since the Swedish papers are not themselves able to pay the high costs of the news service in Swedish, all papers, Finnish as well as Swedish, share the total costs of news service in an equitable way. Thus the Swedish-language news service is actually subsidized by the Finnish

papers to a considerable extent. There are, however, separate charges for teletype line rental and these each paper must pay for itself. Since the Swedish-language teletype network only serves 10 papers but covers almost the same area as the 65 papers Finnish-language network, it is, of course, understandable that the Swedish papers in general pay a much higher line rental than do the Finnish papers. Neither the STT nor the papers receive any state subsidy.¹

International Agencies. In addition to service by the national agency, STT, several papers also have direct contacts with the international press agencies. Hufvudsstadsbladet and Nya Pressen, for example, subscribe to Associated Press (AP) news service, while United Press International (UPI) serves the Helsingin Sanomat, Ilta-Sanomat, Aamulehti, Etelä-Saimaa, Etelä-Suomi, Kalevan, Keskisumomalainen, Kouvola Sanomat, Pohjolan Sanomat, Satakunnan Kansa, Savon Sanomat, Turun Sanomat and Vaasa. The Uusi Suomi uses the services of Deutsche Press-Agentur (DPA) and Kansan Uutiset uses TASS. Thus it can be seen that papers of all major parties and in all parts of the land, not just in Helsinki, also use a variety of international press agency services

1. Information on the STT relates to 1965.

There is a very important thing
which we must remember. The
first thing is that we must
be very careful of our
health. We must not
overwork ourselves. We
must not eat too much
or drink too much. We
must not get too much
excitement. We must
keep our minds calm and
our bodies healthy.

Secondly, we must be
very careful of our
money. We must not
waste it. We must not
spend it on things which
we do not need. We
must not be greedy. We
must be content with what
we have. We must not
try to get more than we
need. We must be
satisfied with our lot.

Thirdly, we must be
very careful of our
reputation. We must not
do anything which will
bring us into disrepute.
We must not be dishonest.
We must not be unkind.
We must not be untruthful.
We must be honest and
kind and truthful. We
must be what we say.
We must be true to our
word.

in addition to or instead of the national STT service. It goes without saying that the international agencies transmit news primarily in English and French and not in Swedish or Finnish.

Press Photography. Photo service is well organized and newspapers' needs are looked after by several photo agencies in addition to the newspapers' own photo-departments. The most successful specialists in this area of agency service are Pressfoto (controlled by Hufvudstadsbladet) and Lehtikuva (controlled by the Helsingin Sanomat).

Other Indigenous Press Agencies. In addition to the STT, there are seven indigenous press agencies in Finland that provide the different partisan presses with primarily partisan political news. The narrowest and most partisan news service is provided for their respective presses by the Demokraattinen Lehtipalvelu, the communist press agency and the Työväen Sanomalehtien Tietotoimisto, the Social Democratic news agency. Somewhat wider political news service is provided by the Uutiskeskus, the Agrarian press agency, and the Keskustalehdet, a small bureau that serves some papers in the "liberal press" group with political news. The widest and least partisan political news service is provided by the Oikeistolehtien Sanomapalvelu (OSP) that serves not only the papers in the Conservative press group but also a number of "independent", apolitical papers.



In the group of indigenous press agencies are also included two others that do not come under the rubric "partisan news agencies". These are the feature article service bureau, the Maalaisliiton Sanomakeskus that provides all Agrarian party papers with feature articles, and the Urheilotieto, a special sports news agency owned by two Agrarian party organizations, that provides sports news to all the Agrarian press as well as to four large non-Agrarian provincial papers.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been
 elected to the office of the President of the United States, and
 the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of
 Vice-President of the United States, in the year 1891.
 The names of the persons who have been elected to the office of
 President of the United States, and the names of the persons who
 have been elected to the office of Vice-President of the United States,
 in the year 1891, are as follows:

President of the United States William McKinley	Vice-President of the United States Theodore Roosevelt
President of the United States Benjamin Harrison	Vice-President of the United States Levi P. Morton
President of the United States Grover Cleveland	Vice-President of the United States Adlai A. Stevenson
President of the United States James A. Garfield	Vice-President of the United States Chester A. Arthur
President of the United States Andrew Johnson	Vice-President of the United States Schuyler Colfax
President of the United States Abraham Lincoln	Vice-President of the United States Hannibal Hamlin
President of the United States Franklin Pierce	Vice-President of the United States William A. Foster
President of the United States Zachary Taylor	Vice-President of the United States Millard Fillmore
President of the United States James K. Polk	Vice-President of the United States George M. Davis
President of the United States Andrew Jackson	Vice-President of the United States John C. Calhoun
President of the United States Martin Van Buren	Vice-President of the United States Richard M. Johnson
President of the United States James Monroe	Vice-President of the United States Daniel D. Tompkins
President of the United States John Adams	Vice-President of the United States Thomas M. Pickens
President of the United States George Washington	Vice-President of the United States John C. Breckinridge

C. PERIODICALS

Side by side with the news-press Finland has an impressive periodicals press that in numbers is more than twice the size of the Canadian periodicals press.¹ According to the official statistics,² the total number of periodicals published in 1962 was 1,770, of which 1,422 were listed as Finnish in language, 168 as Swedish and 140 as bilingual Swedish and Finnish. Forty periodicals were listed as being published in languages other than the two national languages.

Steinby³, however, suggests that the official statistics are misleading as to the actual size of the "public" periodicals press since they include periodicals published for limited circulation by different clubs, organizations and societies, and not for public sale. Figures published in Pressvärlden, the catalogue of periodicals published by the main distributor of periodicals, the Railway Bookstores (Rautakirja), give the figure 1,231 for 1963. Table XVII gives a breakdown of these by type.

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1. The periodicals press in Canada according to the Canadian Facts (1963-64 and 1964-65 editions) numbered about 700.
 2. Statistical Yearbook of Finland 1963, Table 345.
 3. T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 127.



TABLE XVII

Periodicals Published in 1963 by Type

Type	Number
Illustrated news and programme periodicals	14
Illustrated and "light" reading	45
Magazines	3
Ladies, fashion and home journals	36
Children's and youth journals	78
Serial periodicals	14
Commercial, economic and insurance	93
Co-operatives' publications	17
Industry and technology	70
Communications	12
Agriculture, forestry and horticulture	66
Defence	30
Literary and political	56
Music, art, theatre and films	23
Sports, tourism, hunting and fishing	76
Professional and organizational journals	318
Religion and theology	138
Medicine, pharmacology and nursing	28



TABLE XVII (cont'd)

Type	Number
Chemistry, mathematics, astronomy other natural sciences	13
Philosophy, philology, psychology, pedagogy and ethnology	20
Geography, history, administration, legal and social sciences	52
Others	29
Total	1231

Source: T. Steinby, op. cit., p. 127 as compiled from
Pressvärlden, 1963.

Of the above approximately 60 are popular weeklies with circulations ranging from approximately 30,000 to 180,000 per issue. All of these are Finnish language weeklies except for Astra, which is Swedish.

Specialized periodicals in such fields as sales, consumer reporting and farming have even larger circulations than the popular weeklies and range in circulation from 22,000 to 340,000 with a number in the over 100,000 group. Almost all of these periodicals are Finnish in language.

Among commercial and industrial business-oriented periodicals circulation is small, in general under 10,000 copies per issue, though at least one, Konviesti (Mechanical Bulletin), reaches approximately 50,000 copies per issue. As in the case of the previous groups of periodicals most of those in this group are published in Finnish. There are, however, at least three Swedish-language publications, Mercator, Affärsekonomisk Revy and Tekniskt Forum.

In the area of cultural and literary journals there are numerous periodicals in both Finnish and Swedish. Some of the more important in the former language are: Valvoja (Watchman), Suomalainen Suomi (Finnish Finland), Parnasso (Parnassus), Luotain (Sounding Line), Katsaus (Review), Tilanne (The Situation) and Ylioppilaslehti (Student Paper). All are published in Helsinki. Among Swedish language journals some of the most important are: Finsk Tidskrift (Finnish Journal) published in Åbo, Nya Argus (New Argosy) and Studentbladet (Student Paper) published in Helsinki, and Horisont (Horizon) published in Vasa.

Some of the cultural and literary journals have strong political leanings such as the liberal Katsaus and the left-radical Tilanne, but none of the magazines in this group is supported by or supports a political party. However, many partisan periodicals are published. Table XVIII gives an overview of some of the more important of these.

TABLE XVIII

Selected Partisan Periodicals by Party and Type.

Periodical and Party	Type
<u>National Union Party</u> Nykyäivä (Today) Nuori Oikeisto (Young Right) Suomen Naine (Finnish Women)	Official organ of the party. Party youth organization organ. Organ of Party's Women's Organization
<u>Finnish People's Party</u> Palttopiste (The Burning Point)	Party organ
<u>Swedish People's Party</u> Svenska Finland Svensk Finland Appell Vår Tid	Party organ Youth organ of Party Free right wing opinion Free liberal opinion
<u>Agrarian Party</u> Kyntäjä (Plowman) Politiikan Puntari (The Balance of Politics) Avain (The Key)	Party Youth organ Academic organization organ Party Women's organization organ
<u>Social Democratic Party</u> Sosialistinen Aikakauskirja (Socialist Journal) Nuorten Siivin (With Young Wings) Aikamme Kuvastin (Mirror of Our Time)	Party organ Party Youth organization organ Party Women's organization
<u>SKDL</u> Liittoviesti (Federation Bulletin)	Federation organ

TABLE XVIII (cont'd)

Periodical and Party	Type
<u>Communist Party</u>	
Kommunisti (The Communist)	Party organ
Tera (The Edge)	Party youth organ
Raketti (The Rocket)	Pioneer organ
Uusi Nainen (The New Woman)	Women's organ

Though most of the above named party organs are published monthly some of these are issued only 4-6 times a year. Paltopiste, the organ of the Finnish People's Party, however, appears twice monthly and Appell, the right-wing Swedish party organ, is a weekly.

In addition to the partisan political journals, there are some non-partisan political periodicals as well. The most important of these is the bilingual Ulkopolitiikka-Utrikespolitik (Foreign Politics) published by the Paasikivi Association. The most important of the non-partisan academic periodicals in the field of politics is the Finnish-language quarterly Politiikka (Politics) published by the Finnish Political Science Association.

Mass Media (Broadcasting)

The material on braodcasting in Finland, which is not as yet complete, will be published later as a supplement.

